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No. 5, 1955-1957



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SOME BUDDHIST BRONZES FROM SIRPUR, MADHYA PRADESH

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

Sirpur, situated on the right bank of the river Mahanadi, about fifty-three miles N. E. of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, is an archaeological site of importance, and is well known for its brick built Lakshmaṇa temple of about the 8th century A.D. Excavations conducted in 1954-55 by the University of Sagar, and subsequently by the Archaeological Department of the Government of Madhya Pradesh, have now established beyond doubt that it was once a very important centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism, comparable to Nalanda, the famous seat of learning in Bihar. The recent discovery of a Chinese coin, dated A. D. 713-741, indicates that Sirpur also attracted some monks from China during their visit to India. The architecture of the Buddhist monasteries and some of the relics associated with them bear a striking resemblance to those from Nalanda so that one is tempted to believe that the art styles were directly imported from Nalanda with the introduction of Mahāyāna into the region.

Amongst the art objects found in the excavations at Sirpur there are several Buddhist bronze images which show the consummate skill attained by the smiths of ancient Mahākosala. They form the main subject matter of this paper, but the opportunity is also taken to describe certain other bronze images previously found at Sirpur. This study together with the archaeological evidence from the excavation goes to prove that Sirpur, like Nalanda, was also a great centre for the manufacture of metal images required for worship in its monasteries.

The number of images actually recovered from the scientifically conducted excavations is very small but a large hoard was accidentally discovered in 1939 by workers digging for stones in a plot near the Lakshmaṇa temple. The history of this hoard is very interesting. The images are said to have been about three large basketfuls or over sixty in number and they were lying with the finder for over six years till they came into the possession of the local Mālguzār of Sirpur in 1945. This hoard would not have come to light, had not Muni Kantisagara, a well-known Jaina antiquarian, stumbled upon them in one of his walking tours in Mahākosala. Knowing the importance of this hoard for the art-history of Mahākosala, the Muni published a short paper describing some images from this collection in a Hindi journal, which was later re-

published in his well-known book.¹ He acquired three exquisite bronzes from this hoard, one of which was later deposited in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Furnished with these clues, the Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, was able to acquire six more pieces from this hoard, two of which were retained in the Nagpur Museum and the remaining four were sent to the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur, in 1952. The original hoard, in the meantime, was dispersed and several images fell into the hands of different persons in and around Raipur. In 1956, I made a fresh attempt to secure some images from this hoard for the Department of Archaeology and was able to obtain five pieces from private possession. Though not all the images allegedly belonging to the hoard have yet been recovered, efforts are still being made to trace them and it is expected that some more should be forthcoming. The present paper deals with the existing material available for study and aims to bring it to the notice of scholars.

Two images, one of them shown in Plate Ia, were recovered during the Sagar University excavations of the Buddhist Temple at Sirpur in 1955. Notes regarding the six specimens from the Nagpur and the Raipur Museums have been kindly supplied by V. P. Rode, Assistant Curator, Raipur Museum (now of the Central Museum, Nagpur); and the remaining five images under study are with the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh.

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Images of the Buddha

In all four images of Śākyamuni have been recovered. The statuette (Plate Ia; Reg. No. 2170) discovered during the excavations was found in the central courtyard of the Lower Monastery at a depth of 5½ feet below surface and was lying on the pavement. It is a small figure, about four inches in height, and is seen seated on a *bhadrāsana* with a double lotus seat. The image is in *padmāsana*, with its right hand in the *bhūmisparśamudrā*; and the left hand, in *dhyāna mudrā*, is placed on the lap with the palm turned upwards. The image is cast by the *cire perdue* process and is made of gilt copper. The eyes are inlaid with silver while the lower lip is left untouched exhibiting the red copper core beneath, in imitation of the natural colour of the lips. The *ūrṇā* between the eyebrows is shown in silver by a prominent dot and the hair is treated with black paint. A socket at the back indicates that the image once had a small staff for holding the *chhatra*, which is now missing. The gracefully done face is in a state of calm repose and a gentle smile, skillfully denoted by simple curves, plays on the

1. See *Khāḍgaharō kā Vaibhava*.

lips. On grounds of style the image may be assigned to the first half of the 8th century A.D. when the monastery was built. A stone inscription found in the same temple states that it was built by one Bhikshu Ānandaprabha, during the reign of the Pāṇḍava king Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.

The image reproduced as Plate Ib is now in the Raipur Museum. It is made of copper, and resembles greatly Plate Ia. It has an elongated *prabhāvalī* which is decorated with ten flame-like appendages at the sides and a *kalaśa* shaped finial at the top. The orb of the halo consists of a broad band decorated with a border containing a continuous closely winding line and an array of seventeen lotus flowers within. The image has a very prominent *ūrṇa* in silver, eyes inlaid with silver and copper lips, as in Plate Ia. The image is covered with green patina and it cannot therefore be ascertained if it was gilt originally.

The third image (Plate 2a), also of the Buddha, differs from the above two in having an elaborate *pīṭha* and *prabhāvalī*. The main *pīṭha* is adorned with a pair of couchant lions and a fold of cloth on the top. Above this is the double *padmapīṭha*, on which is Buddha in *padmāsana*, with the right hand in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, while the left hand, which rests on the lap is shown holding the edge of the garment. The back-piece is also richly carved, the cross-bar decorated with lozenges being supported by pillars and rampant lions with riders rearing on elephants. The cross-bar in addition has knobbed ends and is surmounted by a *prabhāvalī* on either side of which is an *ihā-mṛiga* with floriated tail. The *prabhāvalī* is decorated with a deeply incised 16-petalled lotus with beaded border and conventional flames on the edge. The stem visible on top is probably a part of the *chhatra* which is missing.

This image of the Buddha, apart from the elaborate pedestal and seat, does not differ much from Plates Ia and Ib. An inscription at the back of the *prabhāvalī* gives the usual Buddhist formula beginning *ye dharmā hetu* in characters of about the 8th century A.D. A short label on the *pīṭha* gives the name of the sculptor as Droṇāditya, who is undoubtedly the master responsible for this fine image, which is one of the most decorative of the Sirpur hoard. Other images made by Droṇāditya will be described below.

Plate 2b, representing another seated image of the Buddha, is now in the Raipur Museum. It is also similar to the images described above and has the characteristic silver eyes and copper lips. The halo at the back is considerably damaged.

Images of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi

Four images from the 1939 hoard are described here. The conception of Avalokiteśvara differs from the austere form of the Buddha in as much as the former is represented as a royal personage wearing the dress and ornaments typical of his rank. It is this view point that provided ample scope to the artist to exhibit his skill.

The main figure is generally shown seated in the *ardha-par-yāṅka* attitude with the right foot resting on a *padma* which is generally attached to the *pīṭha* as a separately soldered piece. The left foot is drawn near the body. The right hand is shown in the *varaḍa-mudrā* resting on the knee while the left one generally rests on the ground behind the body and is shown holding the stem of a lotus. The head-dresses are elaborate, being often done in the form of *jaṭā-jūṭa*, the front of which is adorned with the figure of Amitābha and the hair falls on the shoulders in curly locks. The jewellery consists of one or more necklaces round the neck, and a *yajñopavīta*-like ornament, passing over the left shoulder and falling in a graceful loop over the right hand. It usually has another jewel attached to it as *brahma-granthi*. The necklaces, when single, are invariably in the shape of an *ekāvalī* (a string of large pearls); but in two specimens they are also accompanied by a torque with a bright jewel piece as the central ornament. All the images have a *dupaṭṭā*-like *uttarīya* (*samghāṭī*) which covers the left shoulder only and is decorated with vertical lines which seek to imitate the design and texture of the fabric. The short *dhotī* covers the knees only and the patterns on it are often shown with intricate designs in low relief. All the figures wear a *mekhalā*, which consists of a double string in imitation of a cable or twisted rope (*sūtra*) adorned with jewels. The *kuṇḍalas* are of two different kinds. The one worn in the left ear is invariably designed in the shape of a *makara* holding a small ball-like object in the open mouth. The other form of the *kuṇḍala* consists of an orb with decorative designs on all its four sides (*kirīṭa-kuṇḍala*) and is invariably large enough to rest on the right shoulder. The figures wear both bracelets and armlets (*bājū-bandha*). The bracelets are in the usual shape of a *kaṅkaṇa*, with a prominent jewel on the top surrounded by designs in scroll work; while the armlets have both the ends turned sideways as to form a complete spiral. The lotus seat is always present and the intricate design of the *karṇikā* is shown by small roundels on the seat.

As regards the technique of the fabrication certain facts are noteworthy. In the first place, the pedestal (*pīṭha*) and the main image are cast separately. The bronze caster, taking advantage of the vertical stems in the delicate *karṇikā*, so fits it into the lotus on the

pīṭha that the joint is almost invisible, the grooves seen on the *karṇikā* helping him considerably in this. The head-dress of the figures, the ornaments and other appendages are also made separately and subsequently attached at appropriate places. The high head-dress, for instance, is always made by twisting a coil of long drawn wires to a suitable shape and then attaching it to the bare head. The *yajñopavīta* and the jewellery worn round the legs and the neck are also made separately and fitted to the main image, and it would appear that the *cire perdue* process by which these images were cast gave little scope for the delicate finish which is characteristic of the jewellery which was carved later on when the figure was cast in full. Gilding was neatly done, care being taken to block certain portions where it was intended to show the original colour of the metal which is a coppery red. Finally, the eyes were inlaid with silver, the clothing decorated, and the multicoloured precious or semi-precious stones studded wherever necessary. These were subsequently removed by ignorant persons in whose hands the images fell after their discovery, but their presence is betrayed by the empty sockets. Only in one image (Plate 6a) have all the jewels been left intact and untampered.

I now describe all the Avalokiteśvara images, noting the difference in the details.

The image of Avalokiteśvara (Plate 3a), now in the Raipur Museum, has lost its *prabhāvali*. The long lotus stem is held by the left hand and rests against the head-dress of the main figure. The lotus here assumes the form of a *mukula* (bud) in place of a full blown flower; and a few leaves are shown spreading on the arms near the shoulder. The right leg, supported by a lotus issuing from the pedestal, is somewhat disproportionate and unshapely considering the comely forms of the other limbs. A short inscription records it to be the work of Kumāradeva.

Plate 3b shows only the principal figure seated on the *karṇikā* the lotus and the main *pīṭha* being absent. The left hand holds only a portion of the lotus stem, the top being broken and the *yajñopavīta* is also partially damaged. In spite of this, the image is undoubtedly amongst the finest Avalokiteśvara images from Sirpur. The gentle expression on the face, the easy and graceful posturing as well as painstaking attention to exquisite details mark it as the work of a master craftsman.

Another Avalokiteśvara (Plate 4a) is one of the largest of its type. The pedestal is decorated with a pair of lions placed in cut out niches and seem to have been carved with all the details subse-

quent to the casting. They lie in the same plane as the pedestal surface and the artist has apparently taken pains in their delineation. The main image shows the typical serene expression. The details of the hair are worked in spirals that fall gracefully over the shoulders, almost touching the *bājūband*. The right foot rests on a lotus accompanied by a small bud with a thick, clumsy stem. A short label on the lotus throne indicates that it was cast by the smith Droṇāditya.

The image reproduced as Plate 4b (Raipur Museum) in this series is characterised by an unusually high pedestal and bold ornamentation. The characteristic smile is absent from the expression, the eyes are somewhat large (perhaps meant to be *āyata* according to the religious texts) and the lips are thick. The *yajñopavīta* assumes the shape of a large string of pearls instead of the *sūtra*; and the usual Amitābha is not to be seen on the crown. The *prabhāvalī*, the presence of which is indicated by the socket at the back, is now missing.

Image of Vajrapāṇi

There is only one image of Vajrapāṇi (Plate 5a) in this group but it is of excellent workmanship. The figure does not materially differ from the Avalokiteśvara images described above except in its attribute, the *vajra*, which is shown resting on a lotus bud held in the right hand. On the large *bhadra-pīṭha* is a double lotus, on the top of which sits Vajrapāṇi wearing the usual *makara* and *kirīṭa kuṇḍalas* in the ears. He does not wear an *uttariya* but the *dhoti* is very elaborately adorned with scroll work and small lotuses consisting of four petals. The eyes are set with silver inlays and the lips are of copper. The *vajra* which touches the crown is very carefully decorated. A beautiful circular *prabhāvalī* with the usual border of beads and flame-like appendages still retains the tenon by which the overhanging *chhatra* was held, but the latter is now missing. The inscription on the pedestal shows that this is yet another piece from the workshop of the master-craftsman Droṇāditya. The image also has on its reverse a short three-line inscription giving the usual Buddhist formula beginning *ye dharmā hetu*. Though covered with a green patina some traces of gilding are still visible on the *prabhāvalī* indicating that it was once gilt.

Images of Mañjuśrī

The two small bronzes representing Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist God of learning, are of excellent quality. The one illustrated on Plate 5b is eight inches high. The deity is seated on a lotus in the *ardha-prayaṅka* posture, holding in his left hand the long stem of a lotus with a book—his distinguishing mark—at the top. The necklace consists of a string of large beads from which hangs a central

rectangular amulet-case with tiger claws on either side along with some ornamental leaves. The *kuṇḍalas* are also different from those of Avalokiteśvara. The one worn in the left ear is a reel-shaped ornament (*ṭaṭaṅka*); while in the right ear is a *patra-kuṇḍala*, which consists of a short scroll of palmyra leaves folded over. The head-dress is simpler than those of Avalokiteśvara images. This image is gilt, the eyes are inlaid with silver and the lips are in copper. What marks this figure above average is the carefree and youthful expression on the face, its effect heightened by the raised brows and the easy posture in which the figure is shown sitting. A small label on the pedestal indicates that it is the work of Droṇāditya, the well-known artist, whose three works we have noticed earlier.

The other image of Mañjuśrī (Plate 6a) strikes a different note. It differs from most of the other images from Sirpur in having a small kneeling figure of a devotee, separately cast and then soldered to the base of the pedestal with strong rivets. It is also unique in as much as all the jewels set into its ornaments are quite intact, some of these precious stones being of minute size. The *dhotī* worn by Mañjuśrī has narrow alternate strips of copper which were blocked at the time of gilding and is further inlaid with small silver lotus flowers, a decorative feature which is not found in the bronzes from Sirpur so far available. The central amulet-case in the necklace contains a large green emerald and the tiger claws on either side are prominently shown inlaid with silver. The crest on the head-dress is studded with a small ruby and minute carbuncles adorn the armlets. The lotus stem held by the figure has broken away at the top, but the tiger claws of the necklace, the *patra-kuṇḍala* in the right ear and the reel-shaped ornament in the left, clearly show that this image is that of Mañjuśrī.

The seated devotee at the base has some remarkable ethnic features. His hair is tied into a knot at the back; he wears a very scanty dress and is shown in the attitude of folded hands as he kneels before the deity. His physical features are identical with those of a typical Gond from Chhattisgarh.

This image is unfortunately not inscribed, but its resemblance to the other images carved by Droṇāditya is so close that it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was also a product of his workshop.

Images of Tārā

The Sirpur hoard contained two images of Tārā, the finest,—already described and illustrated by Muni Kantisagara²—being with Muni Jinavijaya of Jaipur, Rajasthan. It is noteworthy that this

2. See *Khāḍgaharō kā Vaibhav*, p. 289 and p. 432.

figure has a number of attending *parivāra devatās* in addition to the devotees at the pedestal, a feature not observed in the other bronzes from Sirpur.

The other image of Tārā is illustrated here in Plate 6b. As a work of sculpture, it does not differ much from the Avalokiteśvara type of images described above, except that the female deity has an oval-shaped halo at the back, and wears a crown made of flowers and leaves over the head. The lotus bud held by the figure on the left is very well preserved. The image was once covered with gold and an attempt has been made to remove it so that the facial features and certain other details have been sadly obliterated. The votive inscription at the back, *ye dharmā hetu*, has also been considerably damaged.

Stylistic considerations as well as the paleography of the inscription suggest this image to be a work of about the 10th-11th century A.D., i.e. well after the period when the art of casting images in Sirpur had reached its zenith.

Miscellaneous Finds

Amongst the miscellaneous finds from Sirpur, mention may be made here of another bronze image (Reg. No. 2-171) the head of which is unfortunately missing. This image was found on the pavement of the inner court of the Lower Monastery at a depth of 5 feet below the surface and stratigraphically it belongs to the same age as the Monastery viz., 8th century A.D. The seated image is in the *varadā mudrā*, and besides the head, the left hand is also missing. The hair is shown falling in locks over the shoulder and the usual ornaments are present. There is an oval-shaped halo at the back, complete with beaded border and the flamboyant appendages. In the absence of any distinguishing attributes it is not possible to identify the deity represented.

The excavations at Sirpur have also brought to light a small head of the Buddha cast in bronze (Reg. No. 2-173) which appears to have been discarded by the bronze caster on account of the breaking away of the mould. It is unfinished and on examination it reveals that the images from Sirpur were cast solid and not left hollow in the core.

Two inscribed pedestals without their images found in the excavations are also noteworthy. One of them, of very light bronze, has a short inscription at the back stating that it was the work of one Kumārapāla. Whether it refers to the donor or to the bronze maker, it is impossible to say.

The other pedestal is a very heavy piece and still retains in its core a quantity of black charred sand and mud showing that it was cast on the spot. It has on its three sides the following inscription in characters of about 9th-10th century A.D.

*Ye dharma-hetu prabhavasteshām Tathāgate
hyavadat evam vādi mahā sugataḥ
Deya dharmo-yaṁ Śākya-bhikṣu Sugatabhāvaya
Yadatra puṇyaṁ tat-bhavatu mātā-pitarebhyah*

It is noteworthy that the usual votive formula reads Mahāśramaṇaḥ whereas the present inscription ends instead with the word Māhā-Sugataḥ. The missing image installed on this pedestal was apparently the gift of a Buddhist monk Sugata-bhava.

* * *

A few words regarding the manufacture of the bronzes, their chronology, and significance in the art of bronze-making in ancient India seem necessary. There is hardly any doubt that the images were manufactured locally at Sirpur. The excavation of the great Buddhist Temple in 1955 brought to light considerable evidence to show that the main centre for their casting lay not far off from the monastery, if not in the monastery itself, for among the objects discovered were several goldsmith's tools and accessories which were in all probability used in the manufacture of the bronzes. These included a number of crucibles, touchstones with marks of gold-testing, a small hammer, a pair of tongs having a lotus bud shaped point and still retaining its elasticity, a pair of scissors, and a torpedo-shaped iron bar on which curved gold objects were shaped. These objects were lying near a *chunam*-lined rectangular tank, 1½ ft. x 2½ ft. and about one foot deep, which was built into the floor of the southern verandah of the temple. The evidence of the pedestals still containing the unscraped sandy core and the unfinished image of Buddha referred to above alone prove clearly that the goldsmith must have worked in the monastery at least temporarily. The discovery of a large number of bronzes from a single site also shows that Sirpur must have been an important centre of Buddhism where these images were required for worship. In three Buddhist monasteries excavated near the above mentioned temple, the central room, in a suite of five rooms, was provided with a brick platform in several tiers, which was reserved for keeping such bronze and stone images. In fact, in two instances, the stone images on these platforms were still *in situ* when excavated. Taking into account that a fine image of Yūgādi-deva, together with figures of the Nine Planets, were also recovered from

Sirpur³ it seems that the bronze caster also catered to the needs of persons other than the Buddhists.

As regards the style, these images certainly seem to have been influenced by artists from Nalanda. There is sufficient evidence from the excavations to show many features common to Sirpur and Nalanda; and that Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sirpur must have found its way into Chhattisgarh from Magadha. The architectural peculiarities, such as long staircases in the corners of the *vihāras*, open courtyards with pillared verandahs, secret passages leading to strong rooms of the monasteries etc., at Sirpur go to confirm the notion that many architectural features were direct borrowings from the great Buddhist university of Magadha. It is no wonder therefore that the Buddhist bronzes from Sirpur were also influenced by the Eastern school of sculpture. A possible reason for this may be that Vāsaṭā, Queen Mother of Maṇasivagupta Bālārjuna, was the daughter of the Maukhari king Sūryavarman of Magadha. It was during Bālārjuna's reign that many of the monasteries in Sirpur were built in the early 8th century A.D. and it is possible that the matrimonial alliances might have been responsible for spread of Buddhism in Chhattisgarh, since no vestiges of an earlier date have been found in the excavation. Stone sculptures found at Mallar, Rajim, Turturiya and Seori-Narayan in Chhattisgarh all date to about the same period.

The similarities between the Sirpur bronzes with those from Nalanda are many and I cite below a few parallels.

1. *Silver inlay for the eyes*: Most of the Sirpur bronzes have their eyes inlaid with silver. This feature is also noticed among the bronzes from Nalanda⁴ and from Kurkihar⁵ in Bihar: as also in the bronzes from Akota,⁶ near Baroda, in North Gujarat, of a comparable date. The image of Jīvantasvāmī from Akota is dated to about the 6th century A.D. by Dr. Umakant Shah; while the specimens from Nalanda and Kurkihar can be dated to about 8th-9th century A.D. In spite of the differences in the dates, this feature undoubtedly appears to be North Indian and post-Gupta in origin, since it is nowhere observed in the large number of bronzes from Nagapattinam, described by T. N. Ramachandran.⁷

3. Ibid., pp. 152, 426.

4. Stella, Kramrisch, *The Art of India Through the Ages*, London, 1955, Plate 109.

5. Cf. Sankalia, *University of Nalanda*, Plate XIII; Information regarding the bronzes kindly supplied by Sri Vijayakanta Mishra.

6. Kramrisch, *Art of India*, Plate 56; Umakant Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Benares, 1955, Figs. 20-21.

7. T. N. Ramachandran, *Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, Madras, 1954.

2. *Treatment of the prabhāvalī*: In the *prabhāvalīs* from Sirpur there are certain traits which betray influences from Nalanda. The circular halo of the Vajrapāṇi image (Plate 5a) and the Jaina image of Yūgādideva (Ādinātha) illustrated by Muni Kantisagar,⁸ are so similar to the Prajñāpāramitā image from Nalanda,⁹ that it is difficult to believe that they were both not inspired by the same common source or were not influenced by each other. The same circular motif with a beaded border and flamboyant appendages is to be seen in the large Buddha image from Sirpur (Plate 2a).

The elliptical or oval *prabhāvalī* from the unidentified headless image in Sirpur or the Buddha figure (Plate 1b) has its Pāla style bronzes in Java¹⁰ and further south in the bronzes from Nagapattinam.¹¹

One of the striking features of the Sirpur bronzes appears to be that almost all images are seated. None are known in which the deity is represented in a standing posture.

3. *Cross-bar rest behind the figures*: Attention may be drawn to the bar-like rest which adorns the figure of Buddha (Plate 2a) or the images of Tārā with Muni Jinavijaya. This has its counterpart in the Avalokiteśvara image from Nalanda and the same trait is to be seen in the Pāla style images from Java.

One of the interesting features of the Sirpur images is that in many cases they have inscriptions which place us in a relatively firmer position as regards their age. Both on paleographic and stylistic grounds, these images can be assigned to the post-Gupta period, somewhere about the early quarter of the 8th century A.D. Numismatic evidence of the Chinese coin, belonging to the Kai Yuan period (713-741 A.D.) in mint condition, found in the same temple where the hoard of the Sirpur bronzes is believed to have been found, also supports this dating.¹²

The works of the master bronze maker Droṇāditya certainly prove that he was an artist of no mean ability. His works are characterised by special attention to the modelling of the face, graceful treatment of limbs and careful attention to decorative details. The art of Sirpur during his time had reached a very high standard. Found in the heart of the jungles of Chhattisgarh, Sirpur marks the site of a great centre for the manufacture of bronzes which was not hitherto known before.

8. *Khādaharō kā Vaibhav*, p. 426.

9. *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1953, Plate LXX B.

10. *Ramchandran, Nagapattinam*, Plate XX, 1 and 3.

11. *Khādaharō kā Vaibhav*, p. 432.

12. Cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVIII, pp. 64-66.

A SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATION OF THE BUDDHIST LITANY TO TĀRĀ AT ELLORA

R. SEN GUPTA

With the development of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism and subsequently the cult of the Bodhisattvas, innumerable sculptures came to be carved on the walls of the Buddhist cave shrines of Western India. Of these the most numerous were those of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara or Padmapāṇi, the compassionate and the saviour of the faithful from evils. The Mahāyāna school has also been responsible for bringing into the Buddhist pantheon numerous goddesses of whom Tārā, the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara, is the most important. She appears to have been received with the same reverence as Avalokiteśvara and was given equal rank and endowed with the same powers. This is borne out amply by a panel from Ellora, recently noticed by the writer, showing Tārā in the act of giving protection to worshippers from the same dangers from which they are usually delivered by Padmapāṇi. The Buddhist litanies showing Avalokiteśvara in the act of giving protection to devotees from various evils appear on the walls of the caves at Ajanta, Aurangabad, Ellora and Kanheri in the 6th-7th century A.D. It is interesting to note that all these caves were excavated near the ancient trade routes, and that the dangers from which Avalokiteśvara saved his devotees were generally those which merchants generally encountered on their journeys or voyages. It is interesting to speculate how far such panels were inspired by the traders in order to ensure a successful termination of their expeditions.

Strangely enough, scholars like Fergusson, Burgess and Wauchope who have worked on the Ellora caves previously, do not mention the panel under discussion in their works and apparently none of them seems to have noticed it. The panel itself is carved on the facade of Cave IX and is datable to the mid 7th century A.D. Though much damaged, it has altogether six scenes in compartments, three on each side of Tārā who stands in the centre holding the stem of the lotus in the left hand while the right hand is missing. Below are two *nāgas* who grasp the stem of the lotus on which she is standing. To her right side, from the top, are the usual scenes representing the dangers of fire and shipwreck, the outline of the ship being still visible but the central scene is missing; those on the left are the scenes depicting the dangers from *nāga*, enemy and the enraged elephant.

There are two other panels depicting the litany to Padmapāṇi at Ellora.¹ One of these, in a cell attached to Cave IV, is fragmentary, as the wall there has been pierced for an opening. It has the scenes showing the menace of fire, robber and slavery. The litany outside Cave III has scenes of dangers from fire, robbery, captivity, shipwreck (?) to the right and to the left from lion, snake, elephant and diseases. The prayer in which Padmapāṇi is invoked is as follows:—

'All hail! great compassionate Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva,
Mahāsattva! from the devouring fire, merciful one,
Deliver us! from the sword of the enemy, merciful lord,
Deliver us! from captivity and slavery, merciful one,
Deliver us! from shipwreck, compassionate Lord,
Deliver us! from wild beasts, poisonous reptiles and enraged animals great
compassionate Lord,
Deliver us! Hail! Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva
Hail! Amitābha Buddha!

From the descriptions of the panels in other caves, it will be observed that but for some minor changes, they are all alike.

It appears that Tārā was introduced in the Buddhist pantheon in the 6th century A.D. Her worship was popular at Kanheri, Ellora and Aurangabad as is evident from the images in those caves. At Ajanta a sculptured image of Tārā as such is not to be found at all. Some scholars, however, would like to identify the painted female figure by the side of the famous Bodhisattva in Cave I, as that of Tārā. The absence of individual images of Tārā, common in other Buddhist caves of the same age, would suggest that the worship of Tārā was not popular with the Buddhists of Ajanta and the cult might have belonged to a different sect. At Ellora however, she has been figured profusely. When shown alone, she is in the attitude of giving protection to worshippers, her right hand being in *abhaya mudrā*. Otherwise she is seen with Padmapāṇi.

In Cave XII (8th century A.D.) at Ellora can be seen a panel of three figures consisting of Kubera, Padmapāṇi and Tārā. In the shrines of Caves XII and XI Tārā is figured on one side of the door facing the Buddha while on the other side is Kubera. Tārā was always connected with navigation and invoked for the safe crossing of the waters. Perhaps her connection with navigation made her worship popular in the Suvarṇadvīpa as well. To quote

1. At Ajanta in Caves II, IV and XVII the Litany to Padmapāṇi is depicted. The eight dangers are those of the lion, elephant, fire, snake, robber, water, fetters and demon. In Cave LXVI at Kanheri, the scenes representing the dangers are from the elephant, lion, snake, fire, shipwreck, imprisonment, Garuda, disease, sword and enemy (?) and at Aurangabad in Cave VII, the dangers are of fire, robbery, captivity, shipwreck, lion, snake, elephant and disease.

Hirananda Sastri,

"In the eighth century her worship extended to Java as is evidenced by a Nāgarī inscription recording the date of the construction in the year 1700 (sic)² of the Śaka era (A.D. 778) of the sanctuary called Kalsan Chandi, which as is shown by the remarks must have been one of the most remarkable temple of the island. In the epigraph we find a *Śailendra* prince, the founder of the sanctuary, doing homage to Tārā, the saviour of men, as the noble and venerable one whose smile made the sun to shine and whose frown made darkness to envelope the terrestrial sphere. This temple was dedicated to Tārā herself whose image it enshrined... Later on i.e. about the twelfth century she became still more popular and we are told that there was hardly a household altar in North India in those days without a statue of Tārā."³

Very interesting is the inscription of A.D. 1095-6 of the time of Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), in old Kanarese, which begins with a *stuti* to Tārā; "Reverence to Buddha! Reverence to Thee, O holy Tārā, who dost allay the fear of lions and elephants and fire and hooded snakes and thieves and fetters and waters and the ocean and demons and who dost bear a splendour like that of the rays of the moon!"⁴ and ends with, "May (the goddess) Tārā,—who is anxiously busied with the exercise of tenderness entailed by preserving (persons possessed of) souls who are distressed by the notorious fear of water and kings and volumes of fire and wind; who takes away the dread of bold thieves and oceans and elephants and lions and snakes etc.; and who quickly confers the rewards that are desired, always preserve Saṅgama!"⁵ The inscribed stone-tablet was found near a ruined Jain temple in the fort at Dambal, in the Gadag Taluka of Dharwar district. The inscription appears below the figure of Tārā. The object of the inscription is to record certain grants to the two *vihāras* of Buddha and Tārādevī, the latter constructed by the Jaina *śreṣṭhī* Saṅgavayya of Lokkigundi. It is gratifying to note that a sculptured panel of the 7th century A.D. finds a parallel in and is corroborated by the epigraphical record of the late 11th century A.D. It is hardly a matter of surprise that Tārā was equally popular to all, and especially to the merchant class, irrespective of caste or creed. The fact that a Jaina *śreṣṭhī* constructed a *vihāra* of Tārā and in recording certain grants to it invoked the Goddess amply testifies the presumption that such sculptured panels like the Buddhist litany to Padmapāṇi and Tārā were also got carved by the members of the merchant class.

Medieval sculptures of Tārā are also to be found in other parts of India. To quote Banerjee, "It may be mentioned incidentally

2. This should probably be read as 700.

3. Hirananda Sastri, *The Origin and Cult of Tārā*, p. 12.

4. J. F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 185.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-190.

that the Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess Tārā is conceived as saving her votaries from 'eight great terrors' (*ashṭamahābhaya*) among which those mentioned above (i.e. captivity, wilderness, drowning, harassment by robbers, great forests etc.) are included. Medieval images of Tārā from Southern and Eastern India are known in which these *mahābhayas* are illustrated in the *prabhāvalī*.⁶

But this panel depicting the litany of Tārā, being the only example, so far noticed in Western India, should be regarded as a unique specimen and perhaps the earliest of its kind.

6. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, p. 492.

SOME NOTES TOWARDS THE CLASSIFICATION OF MUSLIM COPPER AND BRASS WORK IN THE MUSEUM

SIMON DIGBY

The 'Surat' bowl recently acquired by the Museum has been described elsewhere in this Bulletin. This and the large Gujarati (?) casket decorated with *shikārgāh* scenes are the most remarkable pieces in the Museum's collection. But other pieces, mostly from the Sir Ratan Tata bequest, merit detailed examination.

In general early Islamic and Persian metalware has received more attention than the more numerous pieces surviving from the fifteenth century onwards. A change in the character of metalware is responsible for comparatively little attention being devoted to the later period. The earlier pieces which survive are of extremely elaborate and costly workmanship. After the 15th century, lavishly jewelled pieces were sometimes made for the great courts, similar in character to the Mughal inlaid jades, but the vast majority of pieces were of tinned copper or of brass without inlay. By comparison with earlier pieces these have a plebeian air; the *raison d'être* of the extremely finely wrought brass and bronze had almost disappeared with the greater availability of fine porcelain.

Specifically Indian metalware of Muslim origin has suffered from even more neglect: there are no works on Mughal copper and brass attempting to distinguish these from contemporary Persian productions. Yet it may be this neglect is not justified in either case. Apart from the bull-headed jugs and the great ewers, the ornate preciousness of the workmanship of the earlier pieces is too often associated with squat and unimaginative forms. The later pieces, particularly the endless varieties of spouted jugs, often have a dynamic balance and sweep which their refined and exquisite predecessors with their multiplicity of metals lack. The 'Surat' bowl itself is evidence against the general inferiority of later Islamic metalware, and against any particular inferiority of work produced in India. Being of copper, probably originally tinned, its decoration shows that this type of metalware was considered worthy of the attention of Akbar's court painters.

There are three fine pieces in the Museum's collection whose style gives no grounds for supposing that they were manufactured outside Persia, which may therefore be described first.

A Turban Casket. 14th century A.D. (No. 28.5592; Plate 8a, b). This domed twelve sided box is of brass inlaid with gold and silver wire, and with the figures and caligraphy formerly inlaid with flat plaques of silver, of which now only a small trace remains behind the back clasp. This box closely resembles both in form and decoration the examples in the *Survey of Persian Art*, Plates 1361 and 1362, which are in the possession of the Louvre and the City Art Museum, St. Louis.¹ Smaller brass boxes in the same style are in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum.² Of these examples 1362 has a decorative inscription like this casket, and like it has no ring on the dome. The other examples resemble this in the conventional figures, floral scrolls, key pattern, wheel motif and shafts of degenerated Cufic. Harari³ assigned this school to North Eastern Persia and a late 13th or 14th century date. Barrett classified the British Museum example as late 14th century.⁴

Around the casket four main bands of figures in circles alternate with inscriptions in cartouches, while the smallest band of figures on the rim of the lid is spaced between shafts of "Cufic" ornament. The inscriptions are repetitive and can be read as follows:

Amjad ul-Awsāf, al-Khālisat ul-Iqbāl, an-Na'im ul-'Ālim ul-Halim, ad-Dawlat ul-Khādimat Ullah, al-'Āqibat wal-Ahd ul-Jamāl, al-Muhiy ul-Majmal ul-Kamāl, al-Khālisat ul-Iqbāl ul-Akram, al-Jūd ul-Amjad ul-Awsāf. Main Band: *Al-Muzaffar, ul-Mujāhid ul-Murābit, al-Mu'min ul-Ma'li al-Mansur' al-Jamāl wal Kamal, al-Mawlānā ul-Mālik, al-Mu'azzam us-Sultān ul-'Āzim ... ul-'Ālim wal 'Ādil.*

Though these epithets would be most suitable for a royal personage, the inscription seems to be customary and stereo-typed on 13th and 14th century pieces.

All the highly conventionalised figures sit cross-legged and have a halo. The larger bands, on the dome (three figures), on the flat surface of the lid and on the centre of the base (six figures each) are of noblemen wearing the three pointed felt cap of the Il-Khānid period and holding up a circular "scarf".⁵ On the flat of the lid the figures look alternately forward and sideways. the remaining

1. See A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1939, Vol. VI.

2. *Ibid.*, Pls. 1359-1360

3. Ralph Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period"; *ibid.*, p. 2507.

4. Barret, *Islamic Metalware in the British Museum*, London, 1949, Pl. 37.

5. *Survey of Persian Art* VI, Pl. 1331.

two groups all forward. On the rim of the lid are six smaller figures of musicians, four in succession playing cymbals (*sanj*), and the remaining two flutes (*nai*). At the base are six more small figures, probably of singers. In each case the left arm is crooked to the waist, but the right hand of three figures is raised to shoulder height, and of the remaining three is beating down upon the thigh.

The bottom of the box shows traces of turning on a lathe, and is rivetted to the sides: in the centre is a six pointed star arabesque with detached pendentives and traces of silver inlay.

Candlesticks. 16th-17th century A.D. (No. 33.831, 33.832; Plates 9a, b). The Museum possesses two fine Safavi candlesticks, massive and upright, with decagonal shafts, and decoration carved into thick brass and enhanced with black lac.⁶ The smaller of the two candlesticks has double grooved deep chevrons breaking the main decagonal surface⁷ arranged to enclose diamond lozenges at the centre; in the spaces are foliate arabesques. The shaft of the lower candlestick is covered by lattice medallions filled with inscriptions in an elegant *shikasta*. At the top and base of the shaft of each candlestick are verses considered appropriate; on both there are the opening lines of "The Dialogue of the Candle and the Moth" in Sa'di's *Bostan*.

*Shabi yad daram ke chashm nakhuft Shunidam ke parwana
ba shama' guft ke man 'ashiqam gar bisozam rawast Tura giriya
u sozbari cherast?*

The larger candlestick has an erotic quatrain I have not been able to identify.

*Shabi ke mah rukht shud chiragh a khilwat e ma
Gadakh shama' nayawurd tab e suhbat e ma
dami ke az rukh e mah chun tha'alab bar afkuni
bud bar amadan e aftar e dawlat e ma.*

The lines on the smaller candlestick are of some interest.

*Gah dil az 'ishq e butan, gah jigaram misozad;
'Ishq har lihaza bidāgh e zikr mi sozad.*

*Hamchu parwana shama' sard kārast mara,
ke agar pesh rawam bāl u param misozad.*

These lines are by an early sixteenth century poet from Central Asia, Mulla Hairati, and are the opening of a *ghazal* which Hairati presented to the emperor Humayun in the course of the

6. *Survey of Persian Art*, Pls. 1383, 1384,

7. *Ibid.*, Pl. 1384a.

latter's flight from India. The historian Bā Yazid recorded the incident because Humayun's courtiers amended the last line quoted;

*ke pesh rawam agar bāl u param misozad.*⁸

This connection with the Mughals is probably no more than a curious coincidence, and the line stands in its unamended form. The example shown in the *Survey of Persian Art*, Plate 1384A which it closely resembles in decoration is dated 1578 A.D. Hairati's verses and the worm condition of this candlestick would combine with this to suggest a late 16th century date of manufacture.

The larger candlestick between the verses round the base bears the inscription "Thanks be to God: Possession of Muhammad Riza Ibn Hāji (or *in Hāji*)". Its lattice decoration suggests a late 17th century date.

Careful study of pictorial evidence might lead to a reclassification of certain later types of Persian metalware as specifically Mughal—for instance the two branched dragon-headed candlesticks which first appeared under the Timurids in the 15th century. There is no reason, however, to assume that Indo-Muslim metalware began with the Mughals, though examples of this, as of all the other arts of the Indian sultanates except for their architecture, have apparently vanished. In this connection one should perhaps note, in a painting depicting the nativity of Mahavira dated about 1370 which Kramrisch reproduces, a spouted *aftaba* whose handle might be of the conventionalised dragon type.⁹ Harari thought from the study of Persian miniatures that this type of pot evolved in the 15th century. Earlier medieval Hindu spouted but handleless *loṭās* have been recovered in excavations and it is possible that this may be an entirely independently evolved form. If however it is not, it is another piece of evidence of the interpenetration of Hindu (or in this case Jaina) and Muslim society in medieval India.

Apart from the Persian decorative tradition, copper cooking pots which differ very little in shape from those in use today in India sometimes bore incised decoration round their rims; there is a large example from Elephanta in the Museum inscribed and dated to the 11th century. In view of their architectural achieve-

8. See Ghani, *Persian Literature at the Court of the Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 24. Dr. Ghani says that the emperor himself corrected the line which suggests that the Ms he consulted omitted the word *bandagān-e* (*Hazrat*). Also see Bā Yazid, *Tārīkh-e-Humayun*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 37.

9. Kramrisch, *Art of India*, London, 1954. Fig. 148.

ment, it is unlikely that the domestic artifacts of the Indian sultanates were aesthetically negligible, and though the vessels of precious metal at the banquets which Amir Khusraw describes will have perished, it is unlikely that nothing of baser metal has in fact survived. Is the problem then, as with Mughal metalware, that the Indo-Islamic examples have yet to be separated from contemporary Persian work? A number of examples of 12th and 13th century Persian work in Western museums known to have been acquired in India might support this hypothesis. The correspondence of the East Persian style with the area of Turk-Persian culture known as "Dari" should be noted. In this area, the Delhi sultanate, although conquered territory, was not a distant colonial dependency, but a fertile and wealthy area as capable of supporting the civilized arts and as likely to develop its own tradition in them as Afghanistan or Khorassan or Mawar-un-Nahar. Craftsmen probably came in search of patrons to Delhi, just as the poet Badr-e-Chach did from far Tashkent in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. It is therefore unlikely that none of the examples of "East Persian" metalware after the beginning of the 13th century were manufactured in India, but the detailed examination of such pieces searching for parallels in the decoration of North or West Indian architecture has yet to be undertaken.

A later type of Indo-Persian metalware for whose continuity from the 15th century to the present day there seems to be strong evidence is the tinned copper of Kashmir, whose relationship to any main Persian tradition is rather hard to determine. At the time at which the tradition began, the manufacture of tinned copper became popular in Persia itself. The forms and decoration which were common to both were probably evolved in Central Asia. Kashmiri tradition attributes the importation of copper-working as well as of other Persianised crafts into Kashmir to the presence of the great monarch Zain-ul-Abidin at Taimur's court as a hostage. This is not chronologically possible, but Sultan Sikandar, Zain-ul-Abidin's father, sent envoys to Samarqand¹⁰ and Zain-ul-Abidin in his long reign (A.D. 1420-1470) maintained diplomatic relations with Samarqand as well as other areas and deliberately encouraged the domestic arts by the importation of foreign craftsmen. In other ways the links between Kashmir and Central Asia were very close; conversion to Islam was largely accomplished by Saiyids from Bokhara in the 14th and 15th centuries; the Chaks from Gilgit, and Mirza Haidar Dughlat from Ferghana successfully invaded the country from the North. It is not surprising, therefore, that objects of tinned copper are found in Kashmir dating from the late 15th century onwards, and in a style which probably resulted from the

10. G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir I*, Lahore, 1949, p. 145.

medly of craftsmen at Taimur's court at Samarqand and the demand made upon their skill there, which doubtless reflected the less hierarchical character of the Taimurian court when compared to that of a small principality in 14th century Persia.

Clavijo has described the vigorous and alarming character of hospitality at the Samarqand Court;—cups of fermented mares milk without number, drinking parties thrown by homely royal princesses and huge banquets of horsemeat, cooked in great cauldrons and served in dishes of painted leather. One of the pieces of metalware associated with Taimur is a gigantic cauldron. Pieces of large size are characteristic of the older Kashmiri metalware; there is for instance a huge *aftāba* in Srinagar Museum dated A.H. 900 (A.D. 1492-3). In general old metalware found in Kashmir is less refined, but more vigorous and more massive in its proportions than its Persian parallels, with a stronger Tibetan or Mongolian influence and fondness for dragon mouths as well as handles. Conventionalised animals are occasionally found in designs, but perfunctory in treatment compared to Persian work: all-over unbroken arabesque designs are most popular, though pieces with plain spaces and pendentive decoration also occur like the smaller cooking pot in the Museum (No. 28.6205). Many of the examples are worked from thin sheets of copper, but both the Museum's *dekchis* are solid.

It should be pointed out that a very similar type of tinned copper must have been in demand in aristocratic Muslim circles in India outside Kashmir until fairly modern times. Fine work which bore more resemblance to the 'Surat' Bowl than to any example of known Kashmiri work must have been made in North India, or even in Hyderabad, under Mughal influence; a more similar tradition to the Kashmiri survives at Peshawar. But we have strong evidence for believing that a Kashmiri school existed before and independently of the Mughals; it continues today, and its most typical form from the early 17th century onwards, the samovar, has never become entirely acclimatized in downcountry India.

The Museum possesses many examples of later and familiar types of Indian ornamented metalware, such as Bidri ware and Sialkot ware. It also has a large number of nineteenth century Kashmiri pieces, often with varieties of the shawl pattern and of copper, but both the Museum's *dekchis* are worked from thin sheets rather degenerate workmanship, and several Persian brass *kashkuls* with grotesque figures popular in the 18th century. Four pieces, however, are more unusual than this, and three are dated.

Large Deg or Cooking Pot. (Plate 7; No. 33.825). Probably Kashmiri; dated A.D. 1608. This is of very thick copper. Apart from a blank space at the base it is decorated with an unbroken floral arabesque with long prominent leaf forms. Above this up to the high rim are bands of decoration resembling in their disposition the main and subsidiary stripes of a carpet. In the main stripe a conventionalised deer in an arabesque frame alternates with lines of verses. The inscriptions are in fact the first four *bayts* of a *Sāqi-Nāma* beginning.

Biyā Sāqi az shādī nōsh tāz
Yaki sharbat āmiz 'āshiq nawāz

At the end of the last *bayt* is given the Hijri date 1018 corresponding to A.D. 1608. Inside the pot is a raised knob at the bottom covered with an inscription consisting of the last *bayt* and a half of a *ghazal* of Hāfiz, another couplet of a different poem, and the name of the owner, unfortunately not readable with certainty. The previous labelling as Kashmiri may reflect its acquisition by the donor, Sir Ratan Tata, in Kashmir: there seems little reason to doubt its Kashmiri manufacture.

Deg or cooking pot. (Plate 9c; No. 28.6205). Probably Kashmiri; mid 17th century. The simpler and rotund shape of this pot is more pleasing than that of Plate 7. The principal decoration is of alternating pendentives beneath a single running band of ornament; above this is an inscription on the cartouche on the rim: "Possession of Amīr Shāh Husayn Hamadānī, First of Ramazan, the Year 1051". This corresponds with A.D. 1641. It is just possible that its original owner may have been a descendant of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, known as Shāh Hamadān, the apostle of Islam in Kashmir. The decoration on this pot is quite coarsely executed, but effective. The names of subsequent owners have been scratched on its rim besides a crude drawing of a fish and a child's scrawl in Nāgarī.

Small Brass Lidded Pot. (Plate 10a; No. 33.829). This is of thin metal on which the rather unpleasing decoration is engraved with fine thin lines. The diamond pattern on the top of the lid, the S hooks, and the foilage behind the letters of the inscription are all details favoured by the Kashmiri school, and old brass pieces exist in Kashmir (their manufacture now traditionally associated with Brahmin families) using a similar technique of engraving. But the animals in the spandrels, which are also found enclosed in raised circles on the lid in a manner reminiscent of the signs of the Zodiac, seem in a more North Indian tradition. The inscription cannot be

construed as either Persian or Arabic; it mentions Jalal-ud-din (Akbar) and ends very clearly with the date 972 (A.D. 1565). If the piece is of this age, it is of unexpectedly poor quality.

Bowl with high lip. (Plate 10b; No. 33.839). This squat bowl has a very high lip and a yellowish or liverish tinge to the copper. The main design, with its swaying line dividing off the panels of arabesque, and vaselike columns is found on Persian and other work from the early 17th century, but the precisely scratched shallow decoration, the degenerated animals in the arabesques and flowers behind the inscription suggest a late 18th or 19th century origin for this bowl. The calligraphy is large and coarse, interspersing the two parts of a couplet with two names.

Sāqi niqāb az rukh chūn barg e lāla gīr.

Ba chashm e pur khumar chu nargis piyala gir.

“Possession of Mahdi 'Ali Tabrizi—Agha Mawlawi Ahmad 'Ali bin Muhammad Husayn Tabrizi.” An inscription written in very much smaller characters in a separate cartouche runs; “*Bi Hasrat Mulla Muhammad Husayn 'afi 'innahī.*” At the base there is a band of Indian lotus decoration. I am inclined to favour Delhi as a possible place of origin.

PARENTS OF THE TĪRTHAṆKARAS

UMAKANT P. SHAH

The parents of the Tirthaṅkaras have been paid due respect by followers of both the main Jaina sects, who have taken special care to record their names in the accounts of the lives of Tirthaṅkaras of this Avasarpiṇī age. The table appended at the end of this paper, gives their names according to both the traditions.

Worship of the parents of the Tirthaṅkaras appears to be of ancient origin. They are invoked in various rites, especially in the *Pratishṭhāvidhi*,¹ and it is interesting to note that even here the mothers are more frequently invoked than the fathers. In painting as well as sculpture, the mother is oftener represented. Āryavatī in the Āmohini Votive Tablet from Mathura, dated in the 42nd year of Śoḍāsa, is one of the earliest such specimen. It belongs to the early Kushāṇa period, and depicts a standing lady (Āryavatī) adored and worshipped by attendant figures one of whom holds a parasol over her. The lady is probably the mother of a Tirthaṅkara, probably Mahāvira. Several stone *paṭas* or plaques representing in relief all the twenty-four mothers—each in a separate compartment and carrying their sons on the lap—are known to have been installed in Jaina temples during the medieval period. The earliest of these known hitherto is preserved in a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple at Osia in the former Jodhpur state, Rajasthan, and is dated V.S. 1075/A.D. 1018. I know of similar *paṭas* from Patan, Abu and Mt. Girnar, and many more exist in different Jaina temples.

The mothers of the Jaina saviours were widely worshipped both in groups of twenty-four and singly. When single, the mother is shown reclining on a cot with the child lying beside her, both attended by maids and/or the *dik-kumārīs* of Jaina mythology. Such representations form part of the numerous scenes depicting the entire life of a Jina, but are generally without the *dik-kumārīs* as in the miniature illustrations of *Kalpasūtra* Mss. Of these numerous examples the commonest type can be seen, depicting the mother lying on a cot with a child at her side and attended by maid-servants.²

1. *Āchāra-Dinakara*, pp. 154 ff., 16 ff.; *Pratishṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 87; *Pratishṭhā-tīlaka*, pp. 420 ff.

2. *Pavitra-kalpa-sūtra*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya. Fig. 23 represents Trīśalā and Mahāvira on a cot. Fig. 30 is a palm-leaf miniature showing Trīśalā with an attendant and two *dik-kumārīs* in an upper corner; also cf. Fig. 85 where *dik-kumārīs* are in a lower register. Fig. 100 depicts the birth of Rishabha, and only a maid servant or probably a *dik-kumārī* is shown. Also see, Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra*, figs. 58, 59, 90, 91.

Another type represents the mother lying on a cot in the lower part of the miniature, while the upper panels show the various dreams (fourteen according to the Śvetāmbaras) seen by the mother during the holy conception.³

In the case of the mother of Mahāvīra, however, some more types of miniatures are available. One of these shows the Brahman lady Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams when Mahāvīra first entered her womb, a second shows Devānandā sleeping on a cot while Hariṇegameshin is depicted carrying away the foetus of Mahāvīra, while a third type shows Triśalā lying on a cot with Hariṇegameshin, who is standing beside her, carrying the foetus of Mahāvīra.⁴

On a pillar in the famous Dharāṇa-vihāra shrine at Ranakpur, in former Jodhpur state, Rajasthan, is found the figure of a mother lying on a cot representing the nativity of a Jina. An older and larger sculpture of the same subject is preserved in Temple No. 4 at Deogarh fort, Jhansi district, Uttar Pradesh. The sculpture (dated V.S. 1077/A.D. 1020) shows the mother resting on a cot and shampooed by a maid; and includes representations of the twenty-four Jinas on all the three sides of the mother leaving us in no doubt about the identification of the figure.

Nativity images were equally popular with other sects of ancient India. The nativity of the Buddha, at the site of his birth, near the Lumbinī grove, is well known.⁵ The nativity of Kṛishṇa is represented on the outer wall of the first Pañchāyatana temple at Osia,⁶ and is assignable to the early medieval period. Similar representations are known from Eastern India, and include images depicting the birth of Sadāśiva.⁷

The famous sculpture from Pathari in former Gwalior State, of a mother lying on a cot with a child beside her, and attended by four maidens holding the fan, *chaurī*, a money-bag (?) etc., in their hands⁸ is especially noteworthy. Since Jaina traditions speak of *dik-kumārīs* nursing and attending upon the mother at the time of the birth of a Jina, this sculpture probably represents the mother

3. Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 98 representing Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams.

4. *Ibid.*, figs. 6, 14, 16; *Pavitra-kalpa-sūtra*, figs. 77 and 82 representing *garbhā-pahāra* and *garbha-saṁkramaṇa*.

5. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 98, also figs. 21-23, for the dream of Māyādevī.

6. *Annual Report, Archeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, pp. 100 ff. where D. R. Bhandarkar describes the temples at Osia. The present writer has seen the sculpture on the temple which is as yet unpublished.

7. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I for a reproduction of the figure of Sadāśiva. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures of the Dacca Museum*, pls. LIII, LIV, pp. 134 ff.

8. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 178.

of Jina. This identification is the more likely because an old Jaina temple still exists at Pathari. It may be remembered that in Buddhist mythology, the Buddha is attended, not by females, but by Brahmā and four other male deities,⁹ while a similar group of female attendants is not known to Hindu iconography in representations of the nativity of Kṛishṇa. A ceiling slab in the Neminātha shrine at Kumbharia (north Gujarat), which relates to the life of Pārśvanātha, (Pl. 11a) shows King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā (the parents of Pārśva), seated side by side in the first row, while the second and the third rows contain in separate compartments, parents of all the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras. They are seated on a cushion, close to each other, the mother carrying the future Jina on her lap.

With this type may be considered a group of miniature paintings of the *Kalpasūtra*. King Siddhārtha and Queen Triśalā (parents of Mahāvīra) are shown, for example, seated beside each other in a miniature,¹⁰ the seat of the former being larger and each with a *chhatra* above. Here Triśalā narrates her dreams to Siddhārtha who interprets them as auspicious omens. Of a similar type are other miniatures representing the parents of Rishabha, the patriarch Nābhi and Marudevī. We also see Siddhārtha and Triśalā, listening to the interpreters of dreams (*svapnapāṭhaka*) who are shown in a lower panel.¹¹

A curious sculpture, representing a Tirthaṅkara seated on a *simhāsana*, and showing a lady reclining on a cot below the *simhāsana*, is preserved on the Vaibhara hill, Rajgir (Pl. 11b) and dates from c. 9th-10th century A.D. The lady must be the mother of the Jina on the throne. A similar sculpture was seen in the compound of temple No. 12 at Deogarh, while there is another of this type in the collection of Sri P. C. Nahar, Calcutta.

This type of representation of the parents of a Jina (seated side by side) at Kumbharia on stone, or in the miniatures noted above, leads us to the examination of yet another group of sculptures as yet unidentified. Here we generally see a male and a female dressed in princely attire and sitting under a tree with a child on the woman's lap. In all such cases, there is invariably a Jina figure seated on the top of the tree (Pl. 11c).¹² Sometimes both the male

9. The four male deities are the four Mahārājas, the quarter-guardians Dhṛitārāshtra, Viḍuḍhaka and others. The Pathari sculpture, because of attendant females (not known to Buddhist or Hindu mythology) must be identified as representing the birth of a Jina (probably the nativity of Mahāvīra).

10. See Brown, *Miniature Painting of the Jaina Kalpasutra*, fig. 32.

11. *Ibid.*, figs. 48, 49, 50 and 117.

12. From State Museum, Lucknow.

and the female hold a child each.¹³ In some cases the male holds a lotus or a citron in one of his hands (Pl. 12a). Below the princely pair, in a lower panel, are found several seated or standing figures (Pls. 11c, 12a), and in some cases figures riding on horses are also seen (Pl. 12b).¹⁴ Again, in some sculptures (Pl. 13a), a group of children are shown near the feet of the male and the female. Sometimes, a small dwarfish figure is seen climbing the stem of a tree just above and in a sculpture in the Deogarh fort, a similar figure is represented on the branch of a tree.

In this connection, two sculptures from Khajuraho deserve special mention. In one (Pl. 12a) a small figure of a bull is placed between the pair, near their legs. In another (Pl. 13b), at the two ends on the base are representations of a *yaksha* and *yakshī*. Again, the *chauri*-bearers to the right and the left of the male and the female in the same sculpture may be noted.

Such representations are known to occur in old Digambara shrines and other Jaina sites in former Gwalior State, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A few are also known from Bengal. They seem to have gradually become less popular in the later Medieval and Muslim periods while older sites like Khajuraho, Deogarh and Budhi Chanderi abound in such representations.

Now the presence of a *yaksha* and a *yakshī*, as subordinate figures (Pl. 13b), as also of fly-whisk bearers and the bull-cognizance demonstrates that these sculptures cannot represent the *yaksha* and *yakshī* of a Tirthankara. Besides there are different kinds of trees in different sculptures which suggests that the pairs are probably associated with different Tirthankaras. The presence of a child on the lap of the mother is of the utmost importance, for it finally establishes the identification of the pair as representing the mother and the father of the Tirthankaras.¹⁵ Moreover, both the male and the female are dressed in regal attire in all sculptures, and the definite evidence of a similar tradition amongst the Śvetāmbaras (in c. 11th-12th century) as demonstrated by the ceiling slab from Kumbharia, when the parents are actually seated side by side with the son on the mother's lap indicate the possibility that these pairs are representations of the parents of the Jinas.

13. We have one such figure in Deogarh. Also cf. fig. A(e)2, 329 from Deopara, in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society formerly situated in Rajshahi, East Bengal.

14. See, Gomeda and Ambikā from Deogarh, illustrated by B. C. Bhattacharya, *Jaina Iconography*.

15. The *Pratisthātīlaka* of Nemichandra, p. 422, admits as valid representations of the mother and father seated side by side in the following verses:

भर्त्रा सहैवामनमन्निविष्टां संस्थाप्य यां तीर्थजलैः सुरेन्द्राः ।

दिव्यैर्विभूषाम्बरमात्यमुह्यैरानर्चुरेनां वयमर्थयामः ॥

Another alternative would be to take the pair as representing the Kulakara and his queen, or the happy twins (Yugalika) who lived in those mythical days,¹⁶ but this creates more problems than are solved. For if this were so, it would be difficult to explain the presence of the bull-cognizance in the sculpture from Khajuraho discussed above (Pl. 12a), the most probable explanation for its presence being that it indicates the couple to be parents of Rishabhānātha whose cognizance is that animal. The presence of the *yaksha* and the *yakshī* at the two ends of the base in Pl. 13b, and the other five figures in the centre, who seem to be worshippers would also seem to be unnecessary. Besides, the almost invariable figure on the top of the tree in such sculptures would not be required if the representation of different Kulakaras was intended.

The sculptures can also be regarded as representing a *yaksha* and a *yakshī*, probably being a Jaina version of the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti. Here again it would be difficult to explain the presence of another *yaksha* and *yakshī* at the two ends of the pedestal of Pl. 13b.

Additional difficulties remain, for example, the presence of horsemen in sculptures like Pl. 12b is not explicable whether we regard these sculptures as representations of the Kulakaras, as *yaksha-yakshī*, or as parents of a Jina¹⁷

The Mathura Museum sculpture No. 278, illustrated here in Pl. 12b, shows a male and a female seated side by side in *lalitāsana* under a tree, on the trunk of which is an ascending lizard. On the pedestal is carved another figure seated with the left leg drawn up and flanked by two butting rams and a group of frolicsome children. Frolicsome children can also be seen in a sculpture at Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (Pl. 13a) where three standing infants are shown, not on the pedestal, but between the legs of the male and female who are sitting in *lalitāsana* under a tree. The principal figure sometimes also hold a brimming cup, a citron or a lotus which are usually carried by *yakshas* and the presence of frolicking children is but natural in sculptures based on the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti group. The temptation to identify these figures with *yaksha* and *yakshī* pairs, thus, is very strong, but again not without difficulties. For example, it would then become difficult to account

16. For Kulakaras, see, *Trishashtiśalākāpurushacharita* (G.O. series), Vol. I, pp. 93 ff. Also see *Tiloyapanatti*, 4, 326 ff., Vol. I, pp. 185 ff. for Yugalikas. The text especially says: ते जुगलवमज्जता परिवारा नदिय तक्काले ॥३४०॥ which would seem to exclude the possibility of this group being identified as Yugalika images. For Kulakaras, see again *Tiloyapanatti*, 4, 423-510, pp. 195-206.
17. A sculpture from Chanderi also shows horsemen at the bottom of the sculpture. See, A.R., A.S.I., 1924-25, pl. 42, fig. 2.

for a symbol like the bull-cognizance which we see in a sculpture like Pl. 12a.

Under all these circumstances, it is difficult to find out a final satisfactory solution of this group of sculptures. Almost all belong to the medieval age, a few are assignable to the early medieval period, but none are earlier than c. 7th century A.D. All the sculptures of this group post-date the introduction of a *yaksha* pair as attendants in Tirthāṅkara images, and it is, therefore, quite likely that this group of Jaina sculptures was modelled after the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti.¹⁸ These may have been worshipped, however, as parents of the Jinas in order to suit the exigencies of the Jaina religion. The variance in the representation of the minor figures and other peculiarities may be explained by the fact that canonical formulation of iconographic rules had not yet taken place allowing the artist liberties in the representations of at least the minor figures.

It may well be that a few figures were intended to represent a *yaksha* pair, especially in cases where the pair carries the brimming cup or the citron, but even here there are difficulties. In the case of the sculpture representing *yaksha* Gomedha and *yakshī* Ambikā of Neminātha discussed by Brindabanchandra Bhattacharyya,¹⁹ the lion-vehicle of Ambikā is absent (the partly mutilated figure to the left of Ambikā representing some worshipper and not an animal) and the five figures on the pedestal seem to be five planets or some minor deities. The sculpture was carved in an age (c. 13th century A.D.) when the iconography of Ambikā was so well known that she would have certainly carried a mango-bunch, rather than a citron, and would have been shown as standing under a mango tree. Matters are made more difficult in as much as is if she is not Ambikā, she cannot be any other *yakshī*, for, it is only she, according to the canons of Jaina iconography, who carries a child in her lap. Again all the sculptures of this type cannot be identified as Gomedha and Ambikā, for the tree above is not constant, being different with the different Jinas who are shown associated with them.

Unfortunately, most sculptures of this type bear no inscriptions and the few short labels found on pedestals (as in a bronze in the Nagpur Museum or in No. A(c)2329 in the Rajashah Museum, from Deopara, district Rajshahi) do not really help us in identifying this pair. In this connection, the inscription on No 278 in the

18. Cf. Kubera and Hārīti from Sahri-Bahlol, in Smith and Codrington, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* vol. 31, 60 B. For Hārīti also see, Bhattacharya, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures*, pp. 63 ff.

19. *Jaina Iconography* Pl. XVI, p. 183.

Mathura Museum (Pl. 12b) is read as *Prayati Siddhaḥ*, and if this has any connection with Priyakāriṇī and Siddhārtha, the mother and father of Mahāvīra according to Digambara traditions, an identification with the parents may be possible. In the absence of more definite evidence, however, the proposition advanced in this paper, though highly probable, is to be regarded as tentative. The evidence that supports our suggestion strongly is the panel at Kumbharia, and Pls. 13b and 12a from Khajuraho, but it is not conclusive.

The figures of a male and female seated in *lalitāsana* on a common seat, with haloes behind, obviously indicating that they are objects of worship (gods or Siddhas) in a sort of heavenly *vimāna*, or in a shrine having a *śikhara*, in which is a Jina seated within a niche, but without the tree (met with in all the other sculptures discussed above), is preserved in the British Museum, London.²⁰ Again, neither the male nor the female carries a child and the pair possibly hold lotuses in their right hands, while the female carries the citron in her left hand. The pedestal shows three dwarfs lifting the *vimāna*, and four standing males who seem to be musicians. On the pedestal is incised a label reading *Anantavīryyo* in early Nāgarī characters of c. 10th or 11th century A.D. No *yaksha* is known as Anantavīrya in Jaina literature. But Anantavīrya is the name of the twenty-fourth future Jina according to the Digambaras²¹ and of the twenty-third according to the Śvetāmbaras.²² The pair may thus represent parents of the future Jina Anantavīrya though it is just possible that *Anantavīryyo* merely signifies the name of the donor.

On the opposite page is appended a table giving the names of the Parents of the Tirthankaras of this Avasarpiṇī (in Bharataksheṭra), according to the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions. It will be seen that the two traditions are almost similar.

20. Ramaprasad Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, pl. ix, pp. 41-42.

21. T. N. Ramchandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 213.

22. *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, I, 53-56, pp. 18-19.

TABLE I
Parents of Jinas.

<i>No. Tirthaṅkara</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>
1. Ṛishabhanātha	Nābhi	Marudevī
2. Ajitanātha	Jitaśatru	Vijayā
3. Sambhavanātha	Jitāri	Senā (Śvetāmbara) Sushenā (Digāmbara)
4. Abhinandana	Samvara	Siddhārthā
5. Sumatinātha	Megha (Śvetāmbara) Meghaprabha (Digāmbara)	Maṅgalā
6. Padmaprabha	Dhara or Dharaṇa (Digāmbara)	Susimā
7. Supārśvanātha	Pratishṭha or Supratishṭha (Digāmbara)	Prithvī
8. Chandraprabha	Mahāsena	Lakshmaṇā or Lakshmīdevī (Digāmbara)
9. Pushpadanta	Sugrīva	Rāmā
10. Śītanātha	Dṛiḍharatha	Nandā
11. Śreyāmsanātha	Vishṇu	Vishṇu or Veṇudevī (Digāmbara)
12. Vāsupūjya	Vasupūjya	Jayā or Vijayā (Digāmbara)
13. Vimalanātha	Kṛitavarmā	Śyāmā or Jayaś- yama (Digāmbara)
14. Anantanātha	Simhasena	Suyaśā or Sarvayaśā (Digāmbara)
15. Dharmanātha	Bhānu	Suvrata
16. Śāntinātha	Viśvasena	Achirā or Airā (Digāmbara)
17. Kunthunātha	Sūra or Sūryasena (Digāmbara)	Śrī
18. Aranātha	Sudarśanā	Devī or Mitrā (Digāmbara)
19. Mallinātha	Kumbha	Prabhāvatī
20. Naminātha	Vijaya	Vaprā or Vipritā (Digāmbara)
21. Neminātha	Samudravijaya	Śivādevī
22. Pārśvanātha	Aśvasena	Vāmā or Varmilā
23. Mahāvīra	Siddhārtha	Triśalā or Priya- kāriṇī (Digāmbara)

In order to identify the different pairs as parents of the different Tirthaṅkaras, a table of *chaitya* trees of these Jinās is appended below. It will be seen that the tree under which the pair sits is different in different sculptures, and sometimes there is a tree with the Jina figure on top.

TABLE II

Chaitya—Trees of Tirthaṅkaras.

No. <i>Tirthaṅkara</i>	<i>Śvetāmbara</i>	<i>Digambara.</i>
1. Rishabhanātha	Nyagrodha	Nyagrodha
2. Ajitanātha	Saptaparṇa	Nyagrodha
3. Sambhavanātha	Śāla (<i>Shorea Robusta</i>)	Nyagrodha
4. Abhinandana	Piyaka or Priyaka	Sarala
5. Sumatinātha	Priyaṅgu (<i>Panicum italicum</i>)	Sarala
6. Padmaprabha	Chaturābha (<i>Ane- thum Sava</i>)	Priyaṅgu
7. Supārśvanātha	Śirisha (<i>Acacia Sirisha</i>)	Priyaṅgu
8. Chandraprabha	Nāga	Priyaṅgu
9. Pushpadanta (Suvidhinātha)	Mali	Aksha
10. Śitalanātha	Pilaṅkhu (Plaksha)	Dhūli
11. Sreyāmsanātha	Tinduga	Palāśa
12. Vāsūpūjya	Pāṭala (<i>Bignonia Suaveolens</i>)	Tenduva
13. Vimalanātha	Jambū (<i>Eugenia Jambulana</i>)	Pāṭala-Jambū
14. Anantanātha	Aśvattha	Pāṭala-Jambū
15. Dharmanātha	Dadhiparṇa	Pāṭala-Jambū
16. Śāntinātha	Nandi (<i>Cedrela-Toona</i>)	Pāṭala-Jambū
17. Kunthūnātha	Tilaka	Pāṭala-Jambū
18. Aranātha	Āmra	Pāṭala-Jambū
19. Mallinātha	Aśoka	Pāṭala-Jambū
20. Munisuvrata	Champaka (<i>Miche- lia Champaka</i>)	Pāṭala-Jambū
21. Naminātha	Bakula (<i>Mimusops Elengi</i>)	Pāṭala-Jambū
22. Neminātha	Vetasa	Meshaśṛṅga
23. Pārśvanātha	Dhātaki (<i>Grislea Tomentosa</i>)	Dhava
24. Mahāvīra	Śāla	Dhava

PAINTINGS FROM AN ILLUSTRATED VERSION OF THE
RĀMAYĀṆA PAINTED AT UDAIPUR IN A.D. 1649

MOTI CHANDRA

The former princely state of Udaipur in Rajasthan, popularly known as Mewar and called Medapāṭa in ancient inscriptions, occupied an area of 12,691 square miles. To the north of the present commissary of Udaipur lie Ajmer-Merwara and Shahpura, to the west Jodhpur and Sirohi, to the south Dungarpur, Banswada and Partapagarh and to the east Nimach, Bundi and Kota. The area is distinguished for its beautiful landscape, handicrafts, picturesque costumes and the festive spirit of the people which finds expression in colourful festivals and processions. The picturesque ceremonials of the court and palace life with its dancing and music, darbars, and hunting, though medieval in concept, reflected the refinement of Rajput culture that is also emphasised in the traditional art and literature of Mewar.

The city of Udaipur, situated on the eastern bank of the Pichhola lake, is noted for its beautiful places. The construction of Jagmandir was started by Karan Singh and completed by Jagat Singh. It is said that the Golmahal part of Jagmandir was built for Prince Khurram when he stayed at Udaipur as commander of the Mughal forces. Besides the palaces and forts of the Mughal period, Mewar is studded with the ruins of medieval monuments, notably the group of temples at Ahar and Eklingaji, as well as the remains of Jaina and Vaishṇava temples at Nagda. The monuments at the old village of Chawand built by Rāṇā Pratāp, the famous Jaina temple at Kesariyaji, the great fort of Chittorgarh for whose defence the Rajput fought many a valiant battle and which contains the famous Kirtistambha built by Kumbhā, and the temples at Jahajpur, Bijolian, Menal and Badoli reflect the architectural glory of Mewar.

The ancient rulers of Mewar always fought the Muslim invader with determination and the names of Hammīra, Khetā and Mokāl of the 14th and 15th centuries are well known in this connection. Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-1468) in particular was one of the greatest rulers in the annals of Mewar. A scholar and musician, he himself composed several treatises on music while

works on architecture were prepared under his patronage by Maṇḍana. Sāṅgā's (A.D. 1509-A.D. 1528) daughter-in-law, Mīrā, a great devotee of Kṛishṇa, poured out her heart in rapturous songs which remain a treasured possession of Hindi literature to this day. The struggle of Rāṇā Pratāp (A.D. 1572-A.D. 1587), son and successor of Udai Singh (A.D. 1537-A.D. 1572) who refused to yield to the Mughals is a stirring saga. He shifted his capital to Chawand, which has yielded one of the earliest dated set of paintings of Mewar origin. In the time of Amar Singh (A.D. 1597-A.D. 1620) relations with the Mughal court became closer and Khurram stayed with Karan Singh, son of Amar Singh while in rebellion against his father.

Jagat Singh (A.D. 1628-A.D. 1652) who succeeded Karan Singh, received gifts and titles from Shāh Jahān. Though at times he incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, his forces fought along with the Mughals in the Deccan. In A.D. 1673 when Shāh Jahān came to visit the mausoleum of Khwāja Muīn-ud-dīn Chistī at Ajmer, Jagat Singh sent his son Rāj Singh to receive him. Jagat Singh was a great builder and from the illustrated Mss painted during his reign, it is apparent that it was at this time that the School of Mewar which was in its formative stage in the beginning of the seventeenth century, achieved a distinct mode of expression.

The development of architecture in the long and chequered history of Mewar is fairly consistent, but unfortunately there is little material left which could throw light on the painting of Mewar prior to A.D. 1260. In this year was produced the illustrated palm-leaf Ms of the *Sāvaga-Paḍikkamaṇa-Sutta-Chuṇṇī*¹ painted in the reign of Tejahsinha, who had as his High Minister, one Samuddhara, and written by Kamalachandra. The Ms is unfortunately incomplete, but the six illustrations which have survived show that the pictorial art of Mewar in the thirteenth century was chiefly of iconographic interest and it shares with the Western Indian School, linear draughtsmanship, protrusion of the further eye, absence of modelling and other features.²

The next document of Mewar origin is an illustrated Ms of the *Supāsānāhachariyam*³ in the collection of the Hemachandra-

1. See, A. K. Coomaraswamy "An illustrated Svetāmbara Jaina Manuscript of A.D. 1260", *Eastern Art* (1931), p. 237 ff., pls. CXXXIV & CXXXV.

2. Cf. illustrations to *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1278 in the Jain Bhandar at Patan, reproduced in Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, figs. 48, 49, p. 30.

3. Muni Punyavijaya, "Supāsānāhachariyam nī hastalikhita pothī mā nā raṅgīn chitrō," *Achārya Śrī Vijayavallabha Sūri Smāraka Grantha*, pp. 176ff., pls. I-VI, Bombay, 1956.

charya Jñāna Mandira, Patan. It has thirty-seven illustrations some of which occupy full folios. The colophon gives the date as V. S. 1479-1480 (A.D. 1422-1423) and mentions that it was made in Medapāṭa at Devakulavāṭaka, the modern Delwada, a great Jaina centre situated five miles from Ekalingaji, during the reign of Mokala. The miniatures are in the style of the Western Indian School but are distinguished by careful drawing and brilliant colours. The further eye protrudes into space, but the distortion of the body is less apparent and undue use of gold has been avoided. These illustrations provide a clear proof of the prevalence of the Western Indian style in South Rajasthan during the fifteenth century. In this connection attention may also be drawn to a *Kalpa-sūtra* Ms painted at Mandu in A.D. 1439 and another Ms painted at Jaunpur, U.P. in A.D. 1465 (Narsinghji nī polnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍāra, Baroda) where we begin to see a new point of view in the treatment of human figures. The treatment of women is distinctly reminiscent of the representation of women in early Mughal painting, and the human figure is singularly devoid of the contortion of the body, a characteristic Western Indian feature. What part this new development played in the 15th-16th century paintings of Mewar is not known, but in the seventeenth century Mewar paintings there are clear traces of the survival of the new conventions emerging from the aforesaid Mss particularly in figure drawing. By the middle of the seventeenth century these conventions had evolved into a distinct Rajput ethnic type.

In the absence of documents, it is difficult to say the direction being taken by the school of Mewar in the sixteenth century, though it can be surmised that the work done resembled the Western Indian style. As a matter of fact, till quite recently material of the seventeenth century of the Mewar School was so scarce that Coomaraswamy writing in 1926⁴ observes that the pictures produced at Nathadwara, a Vaishṇava centre of the Vallabhāchārya sect, and distributed all over the country by pilgrims, represented the School of Mewar. With the discovery of dated material, the theory of Nathadwara as a great art centre is no longer tenable and Udaipur gains the place of prominence it so richly deserves.

In the early days of Indian art history when the material was scarce, the dates, provenances and styles of different schools of Rajasthani paintings were unknown. It was natural to commit mistakes, but from the material now available it is clear that both Marwar and Mewar evolved their own individual styles. When exactly the Rajasthani School with its own particular

4. *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1926, Vol. V, p. 4.

mode of expression came into being, it is difficult to say. But by the closing years of the sixteenth century both Marwar and Mewar, giving up the old styles of artistic expression, were trying to develop new formulas in the context of the art produced by the court painters of the Mughals. This view is not universally accepted and Dr. H. Goetz⁵ is of the opinion that as Mewar was utterly devastated by wars between A.D. 1587 and A.D. 1614, no artistic tradition could develop there; for art always grows in peaceful times with secure patronage. He admits that art flourished in Mewar between A.D. 1620 and A.D. 1678, but in his opinion it was not an original art, and at best a borrowing from the neighbouring states, perhaps Amber. He further argues that the illustrated Ms of the *Bhāgavata* of Udaipur origin published by Khandalawala, is in the broader context no more than a 'late branch of the Marwar School introduced ready made, after the end of the wars with Akbar and Jahāngir.'

Dr. Goetz's surmise, however, could only be correct if examples of the Marwar School with the same stylistic features as those of the Mewar School, but dating earlier than the known examples of Mewar School, were available. This has not been done and failing this it cannot be denied that till the advent of the Mughal School both Mewar and Marwar probably enjoyed the common style of the Western Indian school. The first impact of the new school brought about changes in the Western Indian style and some states in Rajasthan began developing their own modes of expression by the closing years of the sixteenth century. It is difficult to ascertain what common features the schools of Marwar and Mewar developed in their formative period in the absence of documents, but there is every reason to believe that inspite of adverse political circumstances Mewar had developed a distinctive school of its own in the beginning of the seventeenth century. A set of nineteen Rāginī paintings in the collection of Sri Gopi Krishna Kanoria of Calcutta was painted in A.D. 1605 at Chāuḍa. (Chawand) where Rāṇā Pratāp, pressed by the enemy, had shifted his capital. The paintings are square in format; the ends of the garments are triangular; the clouds on the horizon are represented by a fringe-like pattern; the flesh colour is rose; the flowering trees have delicate branches; enamel-like colours have been used and the angularity of drawing shows the vestige of Western Indian School.⁶ W. G. Archer sees in Nisaradī (Nasiruddin) an artist trained in the Jaunpur tradition, an opinion which he has recently changed.⁷ There is no doubt of a distinct family resemblance between the

5. See, *Marg* V, p. 20 ff.

6. See, *Kalānidhī* I (No. 4), pp. 67-68.

7. W. G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, London, 1957, p. 27.

Chawand paintings and the *Chaurapanchāśikā* set (N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay), the *Gitagovinda* set (Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) and a recently discovered *Bhāgavata* set (Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras) and the *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations dated A.D. 1540 and painted at Palam, near Delhi, so that it is quite possible that they belong to a distinct style flourishing in U.P., though a wider provenance could not be ruled out. It must also be borne in mind that itinerant artists, moving from place to place in search of work, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as mentioned in literature, are fairly common. They must have played an important part in the diffusion of local styles and, therefore, the reflection of the so-called U.P. style in the work of Nisaradi need not cause wonder.

What progress the School of Mewar made between A.D. 1605 and 1650 is not very clear. The painting representing Amar Singh meeting Jahāngīr,⁸ said to be the work of Bishandās, a famous Mughal artist, is probably copied from the original. The portrait of Amar Singh I dated by Basil Gray to A.D. 1610,⁹ though in Mewar style, is really datable to the eighteenth century A.D. There are, however, paintings which give glimpses of the progress of the Mewar school between A.D. 1605 and A.D. 1650. A set of eighty *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings, mostly in the collection of Sri Gopi Krishna Kanoria and the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras, are in a style very near to the Mewar School. Their early dating could be supported on certain elements such as the treatment of the turban, the style of architecture and monochrome background which are direct survivals from the Western Indian traditions of the sixteenth century A.D. Also the *Rasikapriyā* illustrations dated A.D. 1634 in the National Museum have stylistic affinities to the *Rāmāyaṇa* series which could be dated to c. A.D. 1625. The common features which the *Rāmāyaṇa* series share with the Chawand set of A.D. 1605 are the use of light rose flesh colour (which is also used in the background) and a comparatively rare use of yellow flesh colour a vestige of the Western Indian tradition—crenellated domes, brilliant enamel-like colours and conventional trees¹⁰.

The beginnings of the Mewar School, however, verge on the folk idiom in which all the expedients of careful draughtsmanship and perspective are held subservient to direct and forthright expression. However, with the passage of time the art of Mewar becomes more elaborate and aristocratic under the influence of the Mughal school which had become widely diffused by the middle of the

8. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings*, London, 1922, pl. 19.

9. *Art of India and Pakistan*. London, 1949, pl. 87.

10. *Kālānidhi* I (No. 4), pp. 68-70, pl. III, figs. 1, 2.

seventeenth century A.D. In the period of Jagat Singh (A.D. 1628-1652) the earlier style crystallised into a full fledged school, adapting and assimilating the older traits while fully alive to the possibilities of new modes of expression. Consequently the composition becomes richer, the technique refined, and the themes though ancient become a mirror of contemporary social conditions.

There is ample material to study the new developments in paintings in the period of Jagat Singh. Reflecting the spirit of Vaishṇava renaissance there are several illustrated Mss of the *Bhāgavata* namely—the Udaipur *Bhāgavata* dated A.D. 1648¹¹ painted by Sāhabdī, a *Bhāgavata* Ms in the collection of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, a third in the Kota Library, a fourth in the collection of Gopi Krishna Kanoria and a fifth represented by a large number of stray illustrated leaves dispersed in private and public collections. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was also not neglected by the painters and an illustrated *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* now mainly in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, the Baroda Museum and Sir Cowasji Jehangir dated A.D. 1649 is known. Apparently more than one illustrated *kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* existed. A copy, probably of the *Aranyakāṇḍa*, of the *Rāmāyaṇa* dated A.D. 1651 and written by Hirānanda, (the same as the copyist of the Prince of Wales *Rāmāyaṇa*) and done at Chittor is in the Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur¹². The *Sūkara Kshetra Mahātmya* (*Varāhapurāṇa*) was again copied by Hirānand, in A.D. 1655 and illustrated by Sāhabdī, the painter of the Poona *Bhāgavata*. It contains besides the usual Pauranic subjects some interesting scenes on social customs and manners as well as the occupation of the people¹³. The *Rāgamālā* was also a favourite subject, the 'Gem Palace' set in the National Museum being imbued with all the characteristics of the Mewar School of Jagat Singh's time. The *Nāyaka-Nāyikā Bheda* was popular with Rajasthani as well as Pahārī painters and a series of paintings illustrating the Sanskrit text of Bhānudatta's *Rasamañjarī* of Mewar origin, now in the collections of Gopi Krishna Kanoria and the National Museum¹⁴ is datable between A.D. 1630 to 1640. The set is distinguished for its Jahāngīr period costume and luxuriant landscape which synthesises Mughal and Rajasthani conventions. The *Gīta-Govinda* illustrated in Gujarat and Rajasthan in the seventeenth century forms the subject matter of some interesting folios in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh and the Prince of Wales Museum¹⁵. The *Rasikapriyā* of Kesavadās dealing with the types

11. Karl J. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan" *Marg* IV (No. 3), pp. 2-24; 49-56.

12. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954, p. 276.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, 1957, pl. I; Archer, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, pl. 8, p. 29.

15. Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, pl. 6.

of heroes and heroines, their first meeting, separation, union, etc., was a favourite with Rajasthani painters. The *Rasikapriyā* set in the Bikaner Darbar Collection, incorrectly stated to be dated A.D. 1577 has been established to be a Mewar Ms of the mid seventeenth century. The *Sūr-Sāgar*, a work of great poetic beauty, was also illustrated¹⁶.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki eulogizing the great achievement of Rāma is an ancient work of the pre-Christian era. What part it played in moulding the national character in the earlier period is not known but in the Gupta period, however, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is thought of as a national epic, and becomes a source of inspiration popular with poets and artists. Terracottas of the Gupta period depicting *Rāmāyaṇa* themes have been found from Saheth Maheth.¹⁷ The Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh has fine panels on the basement representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, an almost unique instance in India of a kind of arrangement common in Java. Scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are represented at Badami, the Virūpāksha temple at Pattadakal (c. 740 A.D.), the Kailāsa temple at Ellura, the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid and the Rāmasvāmī temple built by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya (A.D. 1509-A.D. 1529) at Ittagi. ✓

From the documents available, it is not known whether scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were painted in ancient or medieval times, but if the authority of Bhavabhūti, author of the *Uttararāmacharita*, is to be respected then scenes depicting the heroic deeds of Rāma were painted on walls. In the first act of his drama, Rāma, after regaining his spouse Sītā, is shown enjoying in her company scenes of his exploits painted on the walls of a garden pavilion.

Illustrations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* begin to be found from the Akbar period. With his partiality for Hindu religion and literature Akbar got the *Rāmāyaṇa* translated by Naqīb Khān, Maulana Abdul Qādir of Badayun and Shaikh Sultān of Thanesar.¹⁸ Writing about the events in the month of Safar 992 A.H. (A.D. 1584-1585) Badaonī states that though he thought of the book as a mere figment of the imagination he had to bow down to royal command and undertake the translation¹⁹. When actually the Persian translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was illustrated is not recorded but the period is likely to be about A.D. 1590.

16. Archer, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, pp. 29-30.

17. *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1907-1908*.

18. H. Blochmann (translator), *Āin-i-Akbarī of Abul Fazl*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1873, p. 105 ff.

19. W. H. Lowe (translator) *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1884, pp. 346-47.

Colonel H. B. Hanna claimed to possess Akbar's copy of the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with one hundred and twenty-nine full page illustrations signed by royal artists, but no serious study has been devoted to it²⁰. I understand from Dr. Ettinghausen that the book is now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington. It is supposed to be dated A.D. 1582²¹, but this hardly seems to be possible as the *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated into Persian only in A.D. 1584. A second copy of the Akbar period, very little known, is in the Pothikhana of H. H. the Maharaja of Jaipur. Some fine examples of *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings of the Akbar period recently acquired by the National Museum, the Prince of Wales Museum and the Bharat Kala Bhawan show that by the end of the 16th century several illustrated copies of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were prepared, though it must be admitted that this work did not ever become as popular as the *Mahābhārata* with Mughal painters.

It was apparently in the seventeenth century that Rajasthani artists, taking their cue from the Mughal painters, chose the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a subject for illustration. Gopi Krishna Kanoria has in his collection *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings which have been dated by Archer to circa A.D. 1630 and probably come from Mewar.²²

Though Rajasthani painters drew their inspiration for illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa* from their Mughal counterparts, they evolved their own tradition in the matter of format, composition and landscape. The earlier Rajasthani *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings follow the older tradition of book illustration and are painted on leaves of horizontal format rather than on the vertical picture plane of the Mughal artists. The Rajasthani and Malwa *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings, at least in their early phase, show a simplification of narration in which the dramatic action of the Akbar school is eschewed to a certain extent. Warm colour tones, rather indifferent if vigorous draughtsmanship, sparse architecture and landscape, lack of perspective and free figure drawing distinguish them from Mughal paintings of the same subject.

Several *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings of *Bālakāṇḍa* dated A.D. 1640 are mainly in the possession of Prince of Wales Museum of Western India and in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection. They measure 15" x 9" on the average, the obverse bearing the text and reverse illustrating the incidents described on the obverse. The colophon bears the following inscription:—

20. Wilkinson and Arnold, *Chester Beatty Collection of Indian Miniatures* Vol. I, p. XXVII.

21. Vincent Smith, "Col. H. B. Hanna's Collection of Indo-Persian Pictures and Manuscripts", *Indian Antiquary*, XXIX (1910), p. 183.

22. Archer, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, pl. VII, pp. 20-21.

Samvat 1706 samaye mārṅaśirshamāse kṛṣṇapakshe trayodaśyām tithau guruvāsare Medapāṭadeśe Śrī Udaipurānagare mahārājā-dhirāja mahārāṇā-Śrī-Śrī Jagatasyanghajī vijayarājye chitāro Manohara āchārya Śrī Jasavantajī likhāyā mahātmā Hirāṇanda pustaka likhate.

'In the year 1706, on the thirteenth of the black half of Mārṅaśirsha, Thursday, in the city of Udaipur situated in Mewar, in the victorious reign of His Highness Mahārāṇā Jagat Singh, the painter Manohar (illustrated the Ms). The book was written by Mahātmā Hirāṇanda at the command of the teacher Jasvantji'²³.

The human figure is treated uniformly and is usually shown in profile. The men are of middling height with a large prominent nose, *paḍol*-shaped eyes, thin moustaches, side whiskers, broad chest and narrow waist. The hands are expressive, and the various gestures are quite meaningful. The men depicted belong to different strata of society; the Rājās and certain dignitaries being distinguished by gold coronets. Gods and other heavenly beings are treated in the same manner as human beings, though the *apsarases*, imitating the Mughal manner, are shown with wings. The flesh colour is generally either pink or brown, but the gods are sometimes painted in white and blue according to the conventional method of representation. The *rishis* are usually bearded and their hair is tied in a top knot.

The female figures also belong to a type and are endowed with the same physical characteristics as the men. They are either dark or fair with ovaloid faces, fat chins, *paḍol*-shaped eyes with the corner slightly elongated suggesting the collyrium line, red lips, small firm breasts, and narrow waist.

In the treatment of landscape a definite advance over earlier painting is noticeable. The setting is hilly, and usually associated with an outcrop of rocks on undulating mounds. The trees are treated decoratively and flowering shrubs add to their beauty. The ground is first painted green, blue or red over which are drawn clusters of green leaves. When the ground is red, the leaves are usually painted in deeper shades of green. The grey or pink tree trunks are generally straight. The cypress tree, apparently borrowed from Mughal painting, appears frequently. The influence of the Jahāngīr period of Mughal painting is obvious when the ground is of indigo colour. The flowering creepers, shrubs and trees either follow the

23. The illustrated *Bālakānda* mentioned above was first noticed by Dr. H. Goetz, who acquired two leaves for the Baroda Museum and published the colophon. See, "Notes on Indian Miniatures Paintings" *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum* VII (1949-50), pp. 58-60.

Mughal patterns or are conventionalised after the old Rajasthani patterns.

The craggy mountain is sometimes painted white with the rocks outlined in sepia and covered with tufts of grass. In keeping with the Mughal tradition the hills are sometimes painted pink and the rocks are outlined in sepia and also covered with tufts of grass. Mountain scenery is also painted in fairly large areas of purple, pink, brown, green, etc., with the rocky edges accentuated by sepia.

Water is treated either in a basket pattern or by means of a zig-zag line on a grey surface. It is often associated with aquatic birds, lotuses, and other watery plants.

Horses and elephants are the animals commonly represented, the former being of Persian type with narrow curved necks, well formed joints and delicate legs. They are coloured blue, black, chocolate or white. Elephants are represented in a realistic manner. The camel appears only once and is treated conventionally. The cows are somewhat stiff, being white or dappled in colour, and antelopes, does and rams preserve this doll-like appearance, a survival of Western Indian painting, though a conscious effort at realism is also traceable.

Peacocks, partridges, ducks and certain aquatic birds are often found and here also we find the artist striving for realistic effects. Fish are also represented in a more or less naturalistic fashion, though it is difficult to recognise their species.

The sky is usually depicted at the top as a strip of plain blue, and the sun, moon and stars are also to be found. In only a few instances is the sky covered with stormy clouds. The black patch edging the sky may be suggestive of eventide or night. At times the sky is delimited by a white wavy line probably indicating the horizon.

The action takes place on the same plane and perspective is still in a rudimentary stage. However, certain devices such as large patches of undulating mounds or hills are introduced to distinguish the planes. A frequent method of doing this is by means of large patches of different colours that serve as backgrounds on which different phases of a simple episode take place. In an arrangement like this the different colour patches are meant to suggest different planes of action. In pictures in which more than one incident is depicted the entire surface is divided into compartments, each compartment dealing with different incidents of the narrative. We also

come across an arrangement in which the entire surface of a painting is divided into registers, each illustrating a portion of the story.

The composition is of varied nature. In some paintings the groupings are simple and the relationship between the different groups is not difficult to understand. But in the elaborate scenes depicting more than one episode, the composition becomes complex so that it often becomes difficult to understand the painting without the help of the text. In the marriage and processional scenes the composition is always crowded, though there is a conscious effort to balance the composition by introducing a cohesive element between different groups and by the use of certain architectural and decorative features. Again it was not the concern of the artist to establish a relationship between different groups by scientific methods; rather his point of view was to tell the story as best as he could and leave the rest to the imagination and understanding of the onlooker. In the absence of naturalistic perspective there was no question of very complex groupings, but architectural decoration, landscape and the use of colour patches all combined to bring about a certain unity and sometimes even elaborateness of effect.

Colours have been used in their pristine glory and their enamel like effect at once catches the eye. Different shades of red, yellow, ochre and *peorī*, indigo, ultramarine, green, purple, brown, chocolate, black and white have been also used by mixing. The painter was not satisfied only by balancing colours but he used with brilliant effect large colour patches that are often contradictory but imbued with a certain cohesion so that they stand together successfully. In only a small number of paintings has a monochrome background been used, for usually more than one colour patch has been used to complete the mosaic of the background. Apparently the Mewar painters seem to have drawn some inspiration from the contemporary dyed and printed textiles in which the skilful combination of colours played such an important part.

The architectural details represented in the paintings are simple. The columns are of the simple Jahāngīrī order and the pavilions with flat, conical and scalloped domes as well as the turrets are usually painted. The eaves and parapet walls are also painted though sometimes adorned with decorative features. In one painting a doorway with balcony is shown, while in some others, the royal courtyard with doorway and surrounding palace balconies are all represented. In keeping with the spirit of Mughal art the architectural drawings have been executed more or less carefully. It is noticeable that the effect of the architecture is enhanced by a judicious use of colours.

The male and female costumes are of uniform pattern. The men usually wear turbans, *jāmahs* reaching below the knees, trousers and *paṭkās* in which is tucked a dagger, a sword and a pouch. The turban is of the Shāh Jahān period, receding at the back and tied with a *pechī* or an end of the turban. The *paṭkās* are either plain or decorated with geometrical patterns, reminiscent of similar patterns in the Akbar-Jahāngīr period. It is apparent that at least in Mewar, *paṭkās* with the floral decoration of the Shāh Jahān period had not come into vogue by the middle of the seventeenth century. The *jāmahs* have *tanīs* or fasteners on the left side. The pointed *chākdār jāmah* is rarely seen, and this probably indicates that it was going out of fashion by the middle of the seventeenth century. Men of position are shown wearing golden *mukuṭas* which was certainly not the case in 17th century Mewar.

Besides the regular court costumes *dhotīs* and *dupaṭṭās* are worn by the Rājās, the Brahmans and the *rishīs*. Soldiers in battle-field wear half coats and trousers, though full *jāmahs* are not altogether ruled out. They also wear full-boots after the Mughal fashion if shown on horseback.

The women wear quarter-sleeved *choli*, skirt, and transparent *oḍhnī*, one end of which is pleated and tucked to the skirt. The dress is either made of plain red, blue, white or green material and is striped or flowered. The *choli* is short, only covering the breasts. The ornaments consist of *sīmāṅg*, nose-ring, necklaces, torques, bangles, armlets, anklets, etc. Profuse use of pompons has been made as a decoration to the ornaments.

Mewar had certainly developed a style characterised by glowing, passionate colour, deft rhythm and great virility during the period of Jagat Singh.²⁴ These features as observed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings, marked the culmination of a style which was already showing these tendencies in the early seventeenth century. The brilliant colours have now gained in intensity and refinement and glow with a passionate fervour that more than compensates for the lack of careful draughtsmanship. Here too the figures are clearly and boldly defined and their movements are presented with great clarity. Emphasis on narration being the view point of the artist, subsidiary details of architecture, perspective and decoration are reduced to the minimum. The artist was not a purist and he did not mind borrowing freely from the Mughal school, though he was careful enough to ensure that the borrowing was so assimilated that it became a part and parcel of his hereditary technique.

24. Archer, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, p. 26.

Rajasthani painting is often designated 'popular' as opposed to Mughal art which is termed 'aristocratic' and this may be so if the word 'popular' connotes sympathetic understanding of the themes of Rajasthani painting by the people. But in a set like the *Rāmāyaṇa* this distinction loses its significance for the pictures are popular in appeal as well as aristocratic in treatment. Leaving aside the purely Pauranic episodes which form the subject-matter of many paintings, the story of Rāma's childhood, his wanderings, Daśaratha's court, marriage processions, wedding scenes etc. gave the painter ample opportunity to reflect the grandeur of the Rajasthani court of the mid-seventeenth century. From this point of view the paintings yield interesting information on the social life of the people to which contemporary literature is apathetic. The paintings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* set—and this equally holds true for Rajasthani painting with other themes—reflect a *joie de vivre* which though appearing incongruous in the context of the troubled days, shows the sturdy character of the people among whom the painters worked. The art of seventeenth century Mewar does not echo the clash of swords, but a peaceful life of love and plenty for which the Rajput heroes fought but never achieved. This yearning for a life that did not exist is also the keynote of Rajasthani and Braj Bhāshā literature, and though this escapist mentality may be condemned, medieval idealism served a definite purpose; for even if the Indians of those times never saw the fulfilment of their vision, it at least made their life worth living.

Twenty folios from this *Rāmāyaṇa*, including the colophon (No. 54.1), are in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, two in the Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda, and over forty in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jahangir, Bombay. A few stray folios are also in the possession of private collectors. The paintings in the Museum are described below:—

Folio 6. *Daśaratha with courtiers and musicians.* The scene is laid in an audience hall. On the left, Daśaratha, seated on a throne, is eating betel-leaf. He is surrounded by courtiers and attendants, some seated and some standing. On the right, are two rows of courtiers seated on the floor. In the foreground are three attendants and musicians; red and green background.

Fol. 12. *Rishyaśṛṅga being allured by courtesans.* The scene is laid in a hermitage amidst trees. On the left is the *ṛishi* conversing with Gālava. On the right, he is looking towards the courtesans from behind the trees. Lotus pond

in the foreground, yellow ground and red background; blue sky at the top.

- Fol. 14. *Ṛishyaśṛṅga's marriage*. The scene is laid out in two panels. In the left panel, at the extreme corner, is a pavilion in the top storey of which are two women eating *pān* and in the lower storey are two standing women. Outside is a marriage *maṇḍapa* in which is the *ṛishi* holding the hand of *Śāntā*. A little below are Brahmans offering oblations to the sacrificial fire. In the panel to the right, is Daśaratha conversing with *Ṛishyaśṛṅga*. Both are seated on thrones; attendants in the foreground: background is in black and yellow, and the foreground is green and grey. Blue sky with stars at the top.
- Fol. 18. *Incident from the story of Ṛishyaśṛṅga*. The scene is divided into two panels. In the left panel, *Ṛishyaśṛṅga* accompanied by the four courtesans is proceeding to the right. Purplish grey background and green foreground covered with floral sprays. Blue and red sky at the top below which are two birds, and short white lines depicting rainfall. In the right panel, *Ṛishyaśṛṅga* accompanied by four dancing girls, is conversing with *Vibhāṇḍaka* who is accompanied by three attendants; yellow foreground and green background. Blue and red sky with rainfall depicted by lines as in previous panel.
- Fol. 22. *Making arrangements for the sacrifice*. The scene is divided into an upper and a lower panel. In the upper panel are some attendants feverishly talking among themselves. On the right, Daśaratha is conversing with his minister. In the lower panel are royal personages talking among themselves and empty thrones with attendants. Blue, black and red background.
- Fol. 24. *Marriage feast*. The scene is divided into two panels. In the left panel can be seen male citizens, Brahmans and women seated in three registers and partaking of food which is served by an attendant. The background is green, red and yellow. In the right panel is a kitchen where the cooks are engaged in preparing food. Attendants are carrying baskets and trays of food in order to serve them to the party outside. Blue background; blue sky at the top (Pl. 14).
- Fol. 25. *Performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice*. On the left, there are sacrificial animals, birds and a white horse which is

attended by five women. In the right top panel is Daśaratha conversing with a priest, and in the lower panel are priests offering oblations to the sacred fire. Blue, yellow and red background; blue starred sky with crescent moon at the top.

- Fol. 31. *Daśaratha performing the Putreshṭhi yajña*. On the left Daśaratha is seated under a canopy with an attendant, and a large number of hermits performing the sacrifice. The Fire God has arisen from the fire and is offering a golden pot to the priest. On the right, in the foreground, is Daśaratha receiving the pot and entering the palace. In the top panel he is shown with his wives, with the pot lying between them. Black, red, brown and blue background; blue sky at the top.
- Fol. 33. *Daśaratha's return after the sacrifice*. On the left, at the palace gate, are three rows of women receiving Daśaratha. On the right, Daśaratha on horseback. He is accompanied by processionists on foot and on horseback. Green background; blue sky at the top. (For colour reproduction see Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, 1957, Pl. II).
- Fol. 36. *Penance of Ṛishyaśṛṅga*. The scene is laid inside a hermitage. On the left is Vibhāṇḍaka bowing down to Belaka. On the right, Ṛishyaśṛṅga and other hermits are engaged in penance. Vibhāṇḍaka is conversing with Ṛishyaśṛṅga and after being satisfied is shown departing. Lotus pond in left corner foreground; blue sky at the top.
- Fol. 39. *Daśaratha and Viśvāmitra*. The scene is laid under a pavilion divided into three parts. On the left stand Rāma and his brothers accompanied by two attendants. In the centre is Daśaratha conversing with Viśvāmitra, while Rāma and his brothers sit on the carpeted floor. Behind them stand three attendants. The gods shower flowers and play music from the blue sky above.
- Fol. 42. *Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra in Kāmāśrama*. The scene is laid on the bank of a river in which some hermits are taking their bath. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra are crossing the river in a boat. In the upper part Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra are proceeding to meet a ṛishi who is performing penance in a cave. Yellow foreground covered with trees; blue sky at the top.

- Fol. 47. *Peaceful hermitage scene on the banks of the Gaṅgā.* The scene is laid on an undulating ground partly yellow and partly blue, with numerous trees, animals and birds. In the upper part, on the left, are Rāma and Lakshmaṇa accompanied by Viśvāmitra and other hermits proceeding to the left. In the centre Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Viśvāmitra and the hermits are sleeping on a leaf mat. A little further are some hermits taking a bath in the river. In the lower part are two chariots carrying Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and the hermits, and in the grove to the right the two brothers are engaged in conversation with the holy man. Hills in the background, blue sky with the sun and moon at the top.
- Fol. 51. *Vaiśālī.* The scene is laid on undulating ground with numerous trees, birds and animals. On the left are three chariots mounted by hermits preceded by Rāma and Lakshmaṇa accompanied by *rishis*. In the foreground, right corner, is a lotus pool and a little further up is a pavilion with a woman personifying the city of Vaiśālī (Pl. 15).
- Fol. 64. *Siege of Mithilā.* In the centre is a fort with Janaka and his attendants and warriors manning the turrets. Outside are seen the enemy forces consisting of chariots, elephants, footmen, etc., shooting arrows. The defendants are shooting back vigorously. Yellow and red background; blue sky at the top.
- Fol. 66. *The breaking of the bow.* The scene is laid within the palace compound in which are tents. In the left upper part, Janaka with his courtiers is conversing with Viśvāmitra accompanied by Rāma, while a few ladies look on. In the centre the hermits and the Brahmans are performing the fire sacrifice. A little further to the right are shown a large number of kings, some of whom have fainted while attempting to raise the bow. In the foreground, on the left, the bow is being dragged on a cart. In the centre Rāma has broken the bow. A little further can be seen horsemen. The yellow foreground is covered with flowers and floral sprays; green background; blue sky at the top (Pl. 16).
- Fol. 73. *Reception of the marriage procession.* The scene is laid within the palace compound. In the upper part the marriage procession is proceeding to the palace gate. On

the right, Janaka is receiving the sages, Rāma and his brothers. In the lower panel the gift of a large number of cows is being received by Daśaratha and his sons. Red, purple and blue background; trees in the foreground; blue sky at the top.

- Fol. 75. *Marriage procession.* On the left, Daśaratha on horse back is shown entering the gate. On the right is the marriage procession consisting of chariots, horsemen, elephants and attendants on foot. Grey, green and black background; blue sky at the top (Pl. 17).
- Fol. 76. *Meeting of Paraśurāma and Rāma.* The scene is laid on undulating ground. The mounds, painted grey, purple yellow, and green are covered with trees and grass tufts. On the left are Rāma and his brothers on two chariots followed by horsemen and elephant riders. In the second incident Rāma and Daśaratha are shown receiving Paraśurāma. On the right is Paraśurāma armed with the axe and bow and arrows; the gods are standing behind him. In the right corner Paraśurāma is going away apparently satisfied. The Brahmins and hermits are performing *yajña* in the foreground. Grey and blue sky at the top (Colour Plate A).
- Fol. 78. *Rāma and his brothers after their marriage.* The scene is laid inside the palace. On the left may be seen Daśaratha, Viśvāmitra. Rāma and his brothers together with their wives. On the right are their mothers and two attendants. On the left are two other male attendants. Trees in the background. Black and blue sky at the top; on the reverse is the colophon for which see *supra*, p. 41.

FIVE BUNDI PAINTINGS OF THE LATE 17th CENTURY A.D.

KARL KHANDALAVALA

In the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 3, 1951-52, I dealt with a group of Bundi paintings which, on stylistic ground, I attributed to the period A.D. 1760-1770. After the publication of this article, I came across a dated example in a similar style offered by a dealer to the Purchase Committee of the National Art Treasures Fund, but the somewhat inferior workmanship and squatter female figures indicated that it was later than the group in the Prince of Wales Museum collection. The date was mentioned in an inscription on the reverse as A.D. 1781. Utilising this date as a fixed point and having regard to the general similarity of style, one could at the most separate the dated miniature from the Museum group by about two to three decades. Thus, the period suggested by me for the Museum group, on purely stylistic grounds, viz. A.D. 1760-1770, receives corroboration from a dated miniature. To put the matter of dating in a more general way, the Museum group belongs to the third quarter of the 18th century. This gives us a convenient margin of error of about twenty-five years. It is not advisable to insist on a lesser margin of error, though *circa* A.D. 1760 is perhaps the most likely date for the majority of the miniatures in the Museum group.

In the said article I had remarked, "our knowledge of earlier work is still hazy though Raja Satrusal (1650-1658) is said to have had painters in his employ".

Sometime after writing the said article, the Museum had the good fortune to acquire another group of Bundi paintings, and four miniatures therefrom afford justification for the belief that there was a school of painting in Bundi even during the 17th century. These four examples acquired by the Museum (Colour Plate B and Plates 18, 19 and 20) establish the existence of a virile school of miniature painting at Bundi towards the end of the 17th century. They are all stylistically related and one of them (Plate 18) bears the following inscription on the reverse:—

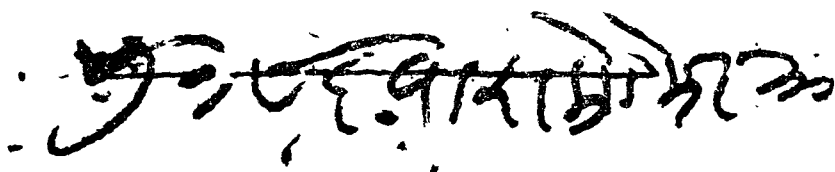
A handwritten inscription in Devanagari script, written in black ink. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a record of a painting's provenance or date.

Sī 1746 āsauj su 12 Mohan chatorā no guharāi

V.S. 1746 A.D. 1689 Asauj 12. Gift of Mohan, the painter.

Though this inscription does not mention Bundi, there can be no doubt that we are dealing with a Bundi miniature. Despite certain differences in the female facial type, Plate 18 is related to Colour Plate B and Plates 19 to 21.

In addition to the four miniatures acquired by the Museum, I am reproducing a fifth example from a private collection which bears the date V.S. 1739/A.D. 1682. The inscription is reproduced below:—



1739 *davārā* *Ḍauḍiā*

1739 by (through) *Ḍauḍiā*

Though aesthetically it is nowhere so fine as the Museum examples, it is apparent that it belongs to the same group.

Thus, we have dated material for the conclusion that the newly acquired Museum group belongs to the period A. D. 1680-1690. Now the style of this group is so advanced and so distinctive that we can safely assume the existence of a Bundi school of painting from about 1650-1660. This assumption accords with the tradition mentioned by me referring to the fact that Raja Satrusāl (1650-1658) had painters in his employ.

It is possible that dated material, even earlier than A.D. 1650 ascribable to the Bundi school may come to light, but for the present I would not push back the date of the Bundi school beyond A. D. 1650-1660. I conceive the possibility of a still earlier group from Bundi but I abhor huge edifices built on speculation. To my way of thinking that is a most uncritical approach and one to be strenuously eschewed by every responsible art historian. If this warning is unheeded, Indian art history will soon get into the same distressing quagmire of sheer speculation and fancy which is the curse of early Indian history. When evidence of a Bundi school earlier than c. A.D. 1650 is forthcoming, I will gladly accept it, because at the back of my mind I conceive this to be possible. That, however, is a very different matter from making definite pronouncements without data—a failing which I hope the younger generation of critics will avoid. I utter this caution because of the recent tendency to make sweeping pronouncements based on worse than miserable foundations.

One observes the following characteristics in the early group of which Colour Plate B and Plates 18 to 21 are examples:—

1. There is a certain richness and depth in the colouring which is not present in the later work. Though this is not easy to explain in words, the difference between the earlier and the later work is usually apparent to those who have seen a large number of Bundi miniatures. This difference is quite pronounced between our early group and mid 18th century work but less so between our group and early 18th century work which also often has a rich and satisfying tonality.

2. The faces and bodies of the females, usually, though not invariably, have a reddish flesh tone which can be seen in Colour Plate B. This particular reddish-brown tone is rarely seen in later work, in which the face and body are either pinkish, brownish, a genuine flesh tone, or a whitish tone.

3. There is no shading of the face as a rule. Even when shading does appear, as on the face of the seated lady in Plate 20 this shading is effected by the smooth application of a brownish tint and not by stippling a blackish tint on the cheeks. The stippling method of shading the face is a regular feature of mid-18th century Bundi painting and gives a darkish appearance to the parts shaded. The tint used for shading being blackish, it creates the impression of down on the face.

4. Female figures are usually found to be slim and tall though this need not be invariably so, as for instance in Archer, *Indian Painting*, London, Batsford, 1957, Pl. VII ascribed to c. A.D. 1680. But a more likely date for the miniature is the early 18th century.

5. Sharp, perkily projecting noses are very common, but they are not unduly long. In fact, the facial type, in this early Bundi group, seems to have been derived from Mewar painting of the mid-17th century. This Mewar influence will be discussed later on.

6. The throat is completely covered with several pearl necklaces and collars one above the other, though this form of decoration may be seen even in later work.

7. The treatment of trees and foliage assumes orderly though not very stiff and over stylised patterns. The treatment of fountains and water channels is formal and decorative in the manner seen in Colour Plate B and Plate 19.

8. The richness and depth of colouring is maintained consistently in all parts of the composition giving the miniature a some-

what sombre but rich tonality. No excessively bright or garish tones are allowed to intrude.

9. The patchy variegated skies of the later period appear to be absent in most cases in the earlier group where the sky is a smooth expanse of blue.

10. The constant use of check patterns in the *ghāghrās* is common in the later group, but does not appear in the earlier group.

11. The black and silver border and the use of black and silver for furniture, musical instruments and other articles, so common in the later group, is not seen in the early group. The borders of the early group are plain red, though, of course, plain red borders are also seen in the later group.

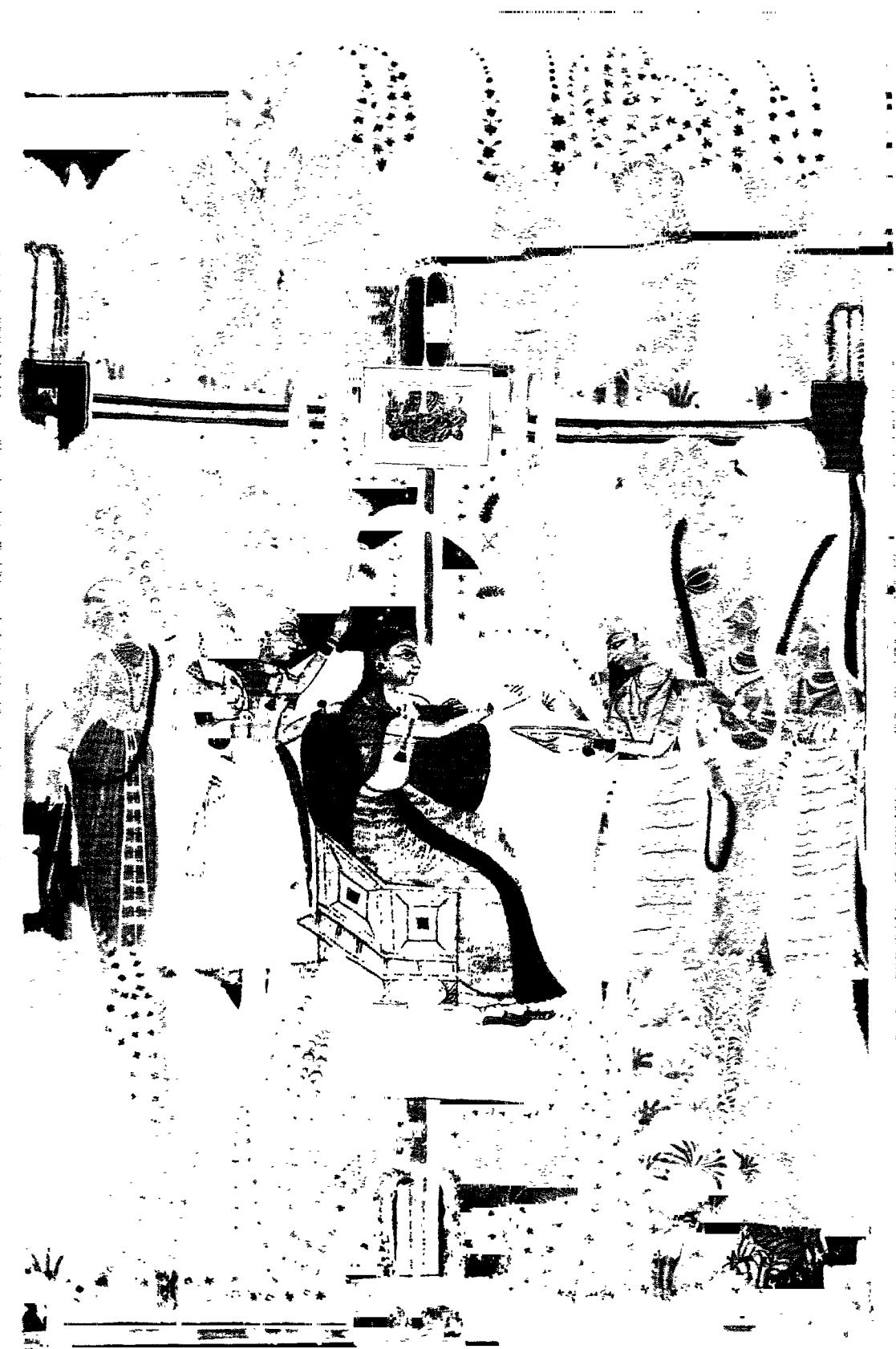
There are stylistic indications that early Bundi painting of the type we are dealing with was influenced by the Mewar School of the second quarter of the 17th century. This influence is seen in facial types, particularly in the treatment of female facial types. It is also seen in trees, plants, and richness and depth of colour. This influence is to be expected, because we have reason to think that the most dominant of the Rajasthani schools in the first half of the 17th century was that of Mewar. It appears to have exercised an influence, albeit in varying degrees, on the development of painting all over Rajasthan. Of course, at the same time there was the ever-present influence of Mughal painting, which not only brought Rajasthani painting into being, but influenced all the Rajasthani schools, without exception, at every stage of their development. We can see this Mughal influence very markedly in Plates 18 to 21 and in particular, we note the transparent *pishvāj*, *paijāma* and very long *paṭkā* worn by the two women in Plate 19, a costume extremely popular at the Mughal court and much in vogue during the Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb periods.

But the early Bundi school is not a slavish imitation of the Mewar school nor of Mughal painting. It has an individuality of its own which usually enables us to distinguish it from other 17th century Rajasthani schools. There will always be border-line cases. One thing which is most essential to remember is that we cannot force all existing Rajasthani miniatures into air-tight compartments called 'Mewar School', 'Bundi School', etc. We must remember that these are only broad-based classifications and that there are thousands of Rajasthani paintings which do not quite conform to one school or another. We must take notice of mixed influences, local variations, individualistic tendencies of artists, movement of artists from one court to another and so forth. The recent tendency

of many European and Indian critics to label every miniature, no matter how doubtful be its provenance, with cut and dry precision, can only lead to grave errors.

There is another influence sometimes observable, not so much in our early group as in 18th century Bundi painting. This is the influence of Deccani painting of the second half of the 17th century. It is seen in foreground garden patterns such as those of Plate 19 and in the architectural compositions seen in mid 18th century Bundi painting. The form usually taken is a tall building with ground floor and pillared storey occupying one side of the picture space. I stated that the Deccani influence is not seen in the early Bundi group, but I ought to draw attention to one painting which may be early Bundi and in which there is Deccani influence. That is *Rāga Dipak* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, which may belong to the third quarter of the 17th century A.D. This miniature is reproduced in *Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950, Pl. 146, Fig. 307, and is ascribed by Basil Gray at p. 194 thereof, as Deccani, A.D. 1600. I do not find fault with Gray in ascribing it to the Deccan, though the date was never acceptable to me. The architectural treatment is Deccani. As it is quite a long time since I examined the original, I do not want to make a definite pronouncement beyond saying that it may be Bundi. Some Bundi miniatures in the possession of Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh would lend support to that view. But there is also the possibility that the *Rāga Dipak* of the Bharat Kala Bhavan is Deccani and that similar pictures were taken to Bundi where they influenced Bundi painting. If I remember aright, the colouring of the Bhavan's *Rāga Dipak* is not in the Bundi manner. But Deccani painting does seem to have exercised some influence on Bundi painters in the 18th century. This influence is not to be wondered at, having regard to the constant sojourn in the Deccan of several Bundi chiefs.

Raja Satrusāl (A.D. 1650-1658) held a high command in the Deccan under Aurangzeb, when the latter was a prince, and was present at the assaults on Daulatabad, Bidar and Gulbarga. He was killed in the battle of Dholpur in A.D. 1658, fighting on the side of the unfortunate Dārā Shikoh. Satrusāl enlarged the Bundi Palace, and the part attributed to him is called Chhattarmahal. He is the Raja in relation to whom local tradition states that he had painters in his employ. He was succeeded by his son Rāo Bhāo who lived upto A.D. 1682 and who also served under Aurangzeb in the Deccan with headquarters at Aurangabad where he erected many public edifices. He was succeeded by a grand nephew, Aniruddh Singh, who also accompanied Aurangzeb in the Deccan and was concerned in the taking of Bijapur. Thus all the Bundi rulers during the second half



of the 17th century, particularly Satrusāl and Rāo Bhāo, spent a considerable portion of their time in the Deccan. Accordingly it would not be at all surprising if one or more Deccani painters were employed at the Bundi Court. It may also be that the Bundi Rajas who served in the Deccan acquired Deccani paintings of the 17th century which they took back to Bundi and these may have influenced the local Court artists to whom they were doubtless shown.

Colour Plate B. The scene represents a princess seated in a garden surrounded by her maids. The fountains and water channels, all painted in white, are treated as a formal design and not realistically. The horizon is depicted by a smooth, dark blue sky. All the faces of the women folk have the peculiar reddish hue so often seen in the early group. The faces invite comparison with the female facial types of the Mewar School.

Plate 18. A prince and a princess are seen standing on a stool in a garden. The prince is pointing out something to his beloved, probably a flowering spray, and to see it better, the couple have mounted a stool which must have been nearby. Behind is a girl attendant. The prince is dressed in the characteristic *jāmāh* of the Mughal court of that period, while his turban with curved piece protruding on the forehead, a very broad cross-band and pronounced backward slant is commonly seen in Bundi painting. The fineness of the *bandhnī* work of the female attendant's skirt should be noted. The care in depicting fine quality *bandhnī* work seems to be peculiar to early Bundi painting. The arrangement of quite natural trees in not too formal a pattern and the delightful admixture of flowering sprays and plantains give the painting a charm all its own. In fact, few Indian painters have handled a garden scene so effectively as Mohan who has endowed the atmosphere with a quiet loveliness. The faces of all the figures again have the same peculiar reddish brown hue so constantly seen in the early group.

Plate 19. There is an inscription on the reverse which characterises the ladies as *veśyās*, but one cannot vouch for its contemporaneity with the painting. It may well have been added later on. The subject is the normal theme of a princess or lady in a garden and can be just as easily a pure genre picture as a *nāyikā* picture depicting a *virahinī*. Amongst *nāyikās* we also have the *veśyā* classification. But there is no means, save a contemporaneous inscription, to indicate whether the artist was painting a *nāyikā* theme or a pure and simple genre theme. Such themes are to all intents and purposes identical, and to classify them correctly is often sheer guess work in the absence of an inscription. Such genre themes were popular in Mughal art in the late 17th and 18th

century and were freely adopted in Rajasthani and Pahari painting.

Plate 20. A prince and princess seated on a canopied bed. The composition is formal, but the colouring is rich and satisfactory with warm reds and deep yellow ochre in prominence. The faces tend to be a deep pink rather than reddish-brown. The shading on the face of the princess is effected by a smooth wash in a brownish tint. The dotted pattern of the *bandhnī ghāghrā* is very finely done. The faces of the two female attendants are of the Mewar type while the face of the princess is a type which became quite characteristic in 18th century Bundi painting. It is a small roundish face with small nose and the forehead is also markedly rounded. Moreover, the face is not flat but is modelled in a greater or lesser degree. The figure of the princess is also petite and dainty, a characteristic constantly seen in the 18th century Bundi painting. As our example belongs to the end of the 17th century, we can assume that this characteristic Bundi type of the 18th century had been evolved, in any event, by the last decade of the 17th century. The tile work, so common in the 18th century Bundi painting, is also seen in our example. In Plates 20 and 21, we have a style which may be regarded as the forerunner of similar 18th century Bundi work. The style is rather formal, making much use of architecture, but attractive due largely to brilliant colouring. In fact some of the early 18th century work is quite gorgeous in colour and though not aesthetically so satisfactory, it is perhaps more spectacular than Colour Plate B and Plates 18 and 19. The Mughal influence in Plate 20 is too obvious for comment, without the style losing its own individuality.

Plate 21. A love scene. It is in the same spirit and manner as Plate 20. The date on the reverse is equivalent to A.D. 1682 as already stated. The female facial types are influenced by the Mewar type. The prince wears a turban commonly worn by menfolk in Bundi miniatures. It may be compared with that worn by the prince in Plate 20. The device of shading under the armpits, so characteristic of Mughal painting in the first few decades of the 17th century, is used in the figures of the two lovers.

TWO EARLY MUGHAL METAL CUPS

PRAMOD CHANDRA

The Art Section has recently acquired a large decorated copper cup (mts: diameter at mouth, 34 cms.; ht. 14 cms. No. 56.61, Plate 22, 23a, b, and 24a) from a curio dealer of Surat. The object is of exquisite workmanship and its value for the study of Indian metalware is enhanced by the following Persian inscription incised around the base, just above the pedestal:

*Waqf-e-hazrat Aba 'Abdullah al-Husain 'alaihi aṣ-ṣalām namūd
īn jāṃ-ra Safiyya Begam har ke tama'-kunad bila'anat-e-khudā u
nafrīn-e Rasūl giriftār shavad saneh 991 (Hirji).*

“Safiya Begam dedicated this cup to Hazrat' Abdullah al-Husain, on him be salutations. He who will cherish greed for it will be caught up in the curse of God and hatred of the Prophet. Year 991 (Hirji).”

Accordingly it is clear that the cup had been already made by A.D. 1583, during the reign of Akbar, when it was donated in charity. The date of manufacture of the cup is also of about the same period, probably a few years earlier, as is borne out by the style of the *shikārgāh* pattern engraved on it.

The cup is in a very good state of preservation. It is semi-circular in shape with a wide mouth and slightly flaring lip. The interior is quite plain but the exterior is elaborately chiselled with decorative calligraphy and a spirited hunting scene. The smooth black lacquer that has been rubbed into the cup heightens the pictorial effect and adds relief to the engraving.

The topmost band is divided into several cartouches containing Shia prayers. The most interesting feature, however, is the central broad band depicting a hunting scene enclosed on the top and bottom by two narrow bands containing verses of a *ghazal* (Plates 23a, b, and 24a). The lowermost band has numerous cartouches with simple floral sprays each carrying three flowers. It is on this band that the inscription referred to above was incised at the time of its donation, in somewhat small and crude characters which contrast with the refined calligraphy on the rest of the bowl.

The entire band containing the *shikārgāh* pattern is covered with floral meanders in spirals composed of small leaves and flowers,

which serve as the ground for the hunting scene proper. We will begin the description with the elephant and proceed in an anti-clockwise manner which is the direction of the decoration, and is in keeping with the movement of the calligraphy. The beast is similar to those depicted in paintings of the Akbar period, with the usual trappings and adorned with *yak* tails and belts. On it is a cage from which peeps a chained hunting cheetah and in front of it are seated the keeper wearing *kulah* with feathers, and the mahout. The elephant is preceded by a soldier on foot wearing short *jāmah* reaching to the knees, a small Indian turban and carrying a sword and shield (Plate 23a). Next we have a horseman holding a pennant decorated with arabesque, and wearing a felt cap popular in Persia during the Shāh Tahmāsp period,¹ and a *pishvāz* with *tukmek* fastening. Riding ahead is another horseman who leans back on his stirrups to look at the horseman following him. He is dressed in *jāmah* and turban and holds a four knobbed shield and sword. The next person is a foot soldier wearing a *jāmah* and turban decorated with plume. He also carries a flag. In front of him is a typical craggy mountain with trees along the side of which can be seen a pair of running buck and doe (Plate 23b). We next come across another horseman wearing Persian felt cap who is chasing deer, and has succeeded in lassoing a doe round the neck (Plate 24a).

Beside the floral pattern that constitutes the background, several flowering shrubs and lilies are scattered throughout the landscape. The trees are decoratively treated in the Persian manner and the *tai* clouds are quite Persian, both these features being also present in early Mughal painting. Besides, there are numerous flying birds, chiefly ducks, though there are a couple of long-tailed pheasants as well. The movement of the figures is brisk and animated, reminiscent of the style developed by Akbar's atelier. Indeed, the resemblance between the pattern on the cup and those done in gold on the margins of the pages of contemporary illustrated Mss is so striking that it is most likely that the design on the cup was drawn by some painter,² the artist transferring on to the metal patterns used by him in the illumination of book margins from the large fund of decorative motifs always at his disposal. The metal worker did his work subsequently and with equal facility so that the easy line and movement peculiar to brushwork has been captured here by the chisel, and the impression is like that of a delicate drawing of the Mughal period.

1. The cap can be compared to that worn by Shāh Abbās and his attendants in the numerous paintings showing the meeting between Khān Alam, Jahāngīr's ambassador, and the Persian king. See Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Cambridge (Mass)*, Plate xxxv.

2. See Kuhnelt and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, pls. 20-30 where several drawings from the margins of the Jahāngīr Album are reproduced.

On either side of the *shikārgāh* band are Persian couplets in elegant Nas'taliq. The verse in the upper band may be translated as follows:—

'Come O cup bearer! Give me that water which possesses the characteristics of fire, for perhaps I may obtain release from my own self.

Like Faridūn I may raise the Banner of Kāwah from the fire of the cup of Jamshīd.

Come O cup bearer! Give me that red cup from which heart and soul get happiness that I may get release from grief and it may point out to me the road to the special banquet.

Come O cup bearer! Give me that wine which produces ecstasy, increases greatness, and leads to perfection because I have lost heart and from both of these I have not acquired anything.

The second stanza is engraved below the *shikārgāh* design:

Come O cup bearer! Give me that shining fire which Zardusht seeks under the earth because in the creed of the profligate, a fire worshipper and a world worshipper are equal.

Come O cup bearer! Give me that cup of Jamshīd. Do not make delay. Give me moment by moment!

Jamshīd the possessor of crown and treasures said very happy words: that this transitory world does not have the worth of even one barley seed.

Come O cup-bearer! Give me that alchemy of success which gives the long life of Noah along with the treasures of Korah;

So that they may open on thy face the door of success and long life.³

The place of manufacture of this cup is difficult to determine, but the nature of the *shikārgāh* design suggests a place close to Agra, the imperial capital which was the centre of the Mughal school of painting. The cup could have been manufactured either at the capital itself or at Delhi which was famous for its metal manufactures. Safiya Begam is probably the wife of a grandee of the court who donated the cup subsequently to a religious establishment.

3. I am indebted to Professor B. D. Verma of Poona for deciphering and translating the Persian inscriptions.

Very few decorated metal objects of the Akbar period are known,⁴ and this cup is a document of considerable importance. The Mughal craftsman owes much to his Persian neighbour, but there is a certain freshness and vigour which marks out the products of his labour very much as Mughal painting is distinct from its Persian counterpart.

Another fine product of early Mughal craftsmanship is a solidly made talismanic cup of brass (No. 22.2235; Mts: diameter at mouth 26 cms; ht. 9.5 cms; Plate 24b). The inside is decorated with cusped arches and is carved all over with verses from the Koran including the favourite *suras* 'of daybreak' and 'of men' (cxiii; cxiv). In the centre is a raised knob on top of which is fixed a six-petalled lotus. Outside, in addition to the verses from the Koran we have the signs of the zodiac (Fig. 1) carved within circular medallions and magical squares. The costume of the male figures, notably the man drawing water from the well, is an indication of the early 17th century dating of this cup. The short *gherdār jāmāh* barely reaches the knees, the *paṭkās* are narrow while the turban has a flat top. The faces, however, are not soft and delicate as in contemporary Mughal painting but have large sharp noses, and pointed chins, suggestive of earlier indigenous traditions. The drawing of the animals, though, is naturalistic and fluent, in keeping with the best Mughal traditions. Bearing all this in mind the cup can be safely ascribed to the first quarter of the 17th century A.D.

It is a popular custom in Islam to have recourse to the sacred text in times of trouble, particularly during illness, which were carved, with or without magical squares, on bone, parchment, metal or almost any other material. A decoction was poured into the cup where it gained its potency due to association with the miraculous nature of the text and was drunk off by the patient. Talismanic cups are quite common but the value of our cup lies in the fact that it is of a fairly early period and can be dated with considerable preciseness on the basis of its decoration.

4. The Museum possesses a fine casket decorated with hunting patterns of the Akbar period (No. 37.6) and described in Moti Chandra, "A Brass Jewel Casket of the Akbar-Jahangir period in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay," *Roopa Lekha* II (No. 3, 1940), pp. 9-13.

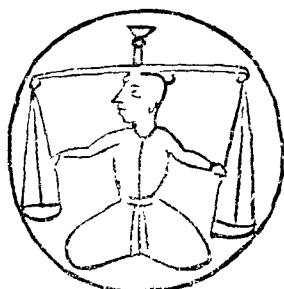
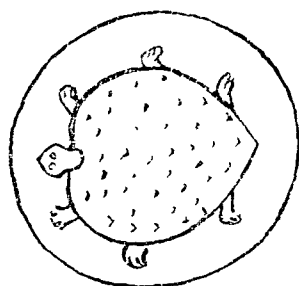
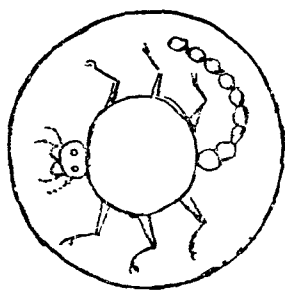


FIG. 1

SĀTAVĀHANA COINS FROM BRAHMAPURĪ (KOLHAPUR)

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Finds

According to a report sent by Mahadeva Vasudeva Barve, the State Karbari of Kolhapur State, to Colonel F. Schneider, Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country, on the 6th December, 1877, a copper vessel was found on the 22nd November, 1877 containing 1,865 lead and one hundred copper coins along with a few other antiquities, buried underground about six feet below the surface of the earth on the top of Brahmapuri Hill, situated on the north-western side of the town of Kolhapur, close to the river Pañchagaṅgā, during the construction of a bridge over the river, to which the hill formed the eastern abutment. The hoard was found while the labourers were making a cutting for the wing-walls of the hill-side abutment pier.¹

The report also refers to an earlier find of coins, found in the same area in 1873, but it gives no details about it. However, from a paper based on the information given by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji and revised by O. Codrington,² we gather that this early hoard was found in a round earthen pot about a foot in diameter at a depth of about fifteen feet, near Brahmapurī Hill, where the ground was being dug for making a road up the hill. These coins were so rusted and stuck together that the pot had to be broken to remove them. The exact content of the hoard is not given, but it is said that it contained more than six hundred coins and about half of them were of lead and the rest of copper. The copper coins were so fragile that they crumbled into pieces in the attempt to separate the mass.

Thus, two distinct hoard of coins were found in the same area of Brahmapuri Hill, one in A.D. 1873 and the other in A.D. 1877.

Distribution

Ten coins of each of the two metals—lead and copper—of the hoard of A.D. 1877, were sent to the Political Agent, who in turn, sent them through the Bombay Government to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The rest, according to the Karbari's

1. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIV (old series), pp. 151-52.

2. *Ibid.* XIII, p. 303.

letter, were retained by him for exhibition at the State Museum.³ Of the coins of the hoard of A.D. 1873, the Karbari presented eight coins to the said Society, eleven to its President, James Gibbs, sixteen to V. N. Mandalik (thirteen lead and three copper) and some coins to Bhau Daji.⁴ The disposition of the rest is not known.

Publication

None of these two hoards were ever examined completely. Bhagvanlal Indraji described nineteen coins of the hoard of A.D. 1873, which were presented to the Asiatic Society and its President. According to him both the lead and copper coins had identical motifs, viz. bow and arrow surrounded by the name and title of the king on the obverse and a *chaitya*⁵ and a tree on the reverse, they represented three kings—(i) Vāsishṭhiputra Viḷivāyakura, (ii) Māḍhari-putra Sivalakura and (iii) Gotamiputra Viḷivāyakura.⁶ R. G. Bhandarkar examined twenty coins of the second hoard i.e. of A.D. 1877, that were presented to the Asiatic Society; and according to him, all of them—copper and lead—were of the same species as those described by Bhagvanlal Indraji from the first hoard.⁷ On the basis of only these few published coins from the two hoards, various theories were suggested for the identification of the issuers of the coins, and they were considered valid till now.

After a lapse of about half a century, when the existence of these coins was all but forgotten, K. G. Kundangar reported in 1929 that the Brahmapuri hoard of A.D. 1877 contained not only lead coins of the Kura kings, but also copper or potin coins of the Sātavāhanas. His report was based on the coins that were exhibited in the Lord Irwin Agriculture College Museum, Kolhapur; and according to his information, they were those very coins that were left in Kolhapur after distribution to various museums. According to him, the Sātavāhana coins of the hoard had on the obverse an ornamented elephant with uplifted trunk and the legends were *Siri Puḷumāvisa*, *Siri Satakaṇisa*, *Siri Sātasa* and *Siri Yajña Sātakaṇisa*. On the reverse they had the Ujjain cross and ball symbol, and some of the coins of Puḷumāvi had a crescent on the Ujjain symbol.⁸ In 1953, after the integration of Kolhapur State into Bombay, the Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay Government, received a lot of 1,643 lead coins from Kolhapur Museum, which according to the

3. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

4. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 153.

5. The name *chaitya* for the motif on these coins is incorrect. It is really a hill of seven arches; but since this name has found favour with scholars, I have retained the conventional terminology.

6. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIII, p. 304.

7. *Ibid.* XIV, p. 153.

8. *N.S.* XLII, p. 31.

note received by him, belonged to the hoard of A.D. 1877. These coins, in turn, were sent to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, for cleaning and study. Here they were studied first by S. N. Chakravarti of the Archaeological Section of the Museum and then by Dr. M. Rama Rao of the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. While the classification of the coins by Chakravarti remained confined to the records of the Museum and the office of the Director of Archives, Dr. Rama Rao published an exhaustive paper.⁹

In 1956, the Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay Government, again received several lots of coins from the Kolhapur Museum, which were sent for examination to the Prince of Wales Museum. Among these were a few packets containing copper and lead coins, 626 in number, belonging to the Kura and Sātavāhana dynasties. There were no indications about their provenance but on further enquiry I was able to ascertain that they probably belonged "to the stock of the coins discovered in 1877 while constructing the Shivaji Bridge over the Panchaganga river."¹⁰

This, however, does not seem to be the case, for the hoard of A.D. 1877, according to the State Karbari's own report, did not have more than 2,000 coins and of these 1,865 were of lead. As such it is only the lot of 1,643 coins, examined by Rama Rao and Chakravarti, that can be attributed to that hoard, keeping in view the fact that many coins were distributed to various institutions and persons. The coins of the second lot also cannot be attributed to this hoard, as the number of coins would then be much more than 2,000. This lot, subject of the present study, can only relate to the hoard of A.D. 1873, as it was reported that it included more than 600 coins, half of which were of lead and the rest of copper. It has been further said that most of the copper coins had crumbled into pieces. All these facts fit well with the lot under study in which there are no less than 148 pieces of broken copper coins.

9. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* XVII, pp. 55-88. The number of coins, mentioned in his paper is inaccurate. At one place it is given as 2,142 (p. 58) and 2,434 at the other (p. 60), while the actual number of the coins is only 1,643. I wanted to verify this point and also wanted to ascertain the actual distribution among various kings, according to his examination, but was unfortunately unable to do so. According to Chakravarti's examination report, they are as follows:

Vāsishthīputra Viḷivāyakura	..	..	..	167
Mādhariputra Sivalakura	..	..	..	500
Gotamiputra Viḷivāyakura	..	..	..	525
Elephant type	..	..	..	8
Worn	..	..	..	439
Total	..	..	..	1,643

10. Letter No. 105-KOL-V/3127 dated 31st July, 1956 from the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.

Whatever may be the actual position of the two lots of coins. It is clear that they did not exclusively consist of the coins of the Kura kings as had been commonly held by scholars. They included copper and lead coins of the Sātavāhanas also. Since Dr. Rama Rao has published a detailed study of the lot of 1,643 lead coins, the present paper is confined to 626 coins of the second lot together with other supplementary information.

This lot contains the following coins:

(A) *Copper coins*

(i) Kura kings

Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura	12
Names uncertain	15
Total	28

(ii) Sātavāhana kings

Coins on which the name is out of flan	124
Legend <i>Sātakani</i>	92
Legend <i>Siri Sātakani</i>	52
Legend <i>Saka Sātakani</i>	1
Legend <i>Siri Puḷumāvi</i>	57
Legend <i>Siri Khada Sātakani</i>	4
Legend <i>Siri Yajña Sātakani</i>	38
Legend <i>Siva Siri Puḷumāvi</i>	3
Legend <i>Ruda Sātakani</i>	3
Legend <i>Siri Sātasa</i>	2
Illegible coins	5
Total	381

(B) *Lead coins.*

(i) Kura kings

Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura	3
Māḍhariputra Sivala-kura	4
Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura	5
Neatly cut half pieces	88
Neatly cut 1/3 pieces	10
Neatly cut quarter pieces	12
Broken coins	34
Fragmentary pieces	59
Total	215

(ii) Sātavāhana king

Siri Puḷumāvi	1
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Copper coins

The copper coins of the Sātavāhanas in this lot all have on the obverse an elephant, ornamented, with upraised trunk and the name of the ruler above it. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol, with a dot in each ball and a crescent over one of the balls.¹¹ Coins of this type were known earlier from the Chanda¹² and Tarhala¹³ hoards and are referred to as coins of C. P. (Central Province) Fabric.¹⁴ The present find shows that these coins were not exclusive to that area, but were also current in the west as far as Mahārāshtra.

It is also interesting to note that while the Sātavāhana lead coins with 'Elephant and Ujjain symbol' motifs bear the metronymics,¹⁵ they are altogether absent on the coins of the same type in copper, as has been correctly pointed out by Rapson.¹⁶ His statement regarding the absence of the title *Rājā* from the copper coins, however, is not correct. Mirashi has already pointed out that the legends on the coins of Puṣumāvi and Sātakarṇi in Tarhala hoard begin with *Raṇa*, and those of Yajña Sātakarṇi as *Raño*.¹⁸ In the lot under study too, there are some coins which have the letter *ṇa* before the name of the ruler and seem to be part of the word *Raṇa*, *ra* being out of flan. In most of the coins the beginning of the legends are out of flan, so we do not have the title on the coins. This might have been the case with the coins before Rapson as well.

The present lot has 92 coins which preserve only the name *Sātakarṇi* or a part thereof. The names of several kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty end with this surname and several rulers having this surname are represented in the present lot. The palaeography of all these coins is more or less similar, so that it is difficult to say if the coins with the legend *Sātakarṇi*, which is of course partial, belonged to any one or several of them. Mirashi has attributed all such coins of the Tarhala hoard to Siri Sātakarṇi, but has distinguished them on the basis of thickness and thinness of the letters, as belonging to two rulers—Siri Sātakarṇi III and Sātakarṇi IV.¹⁹ The latter ruler, he maintains, is mentioned in one of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, as the grandson of Sātakarṇi III. But

11. This crescent is not exclusive to the coins of Puṣumāvi, as Kundangar has stated (*N.S.* XLII, p. 31): but it appears on the coins of all the rulers. See Plate 25, Nos. 11, 12, 16, 23: pl. 26 No. 1.

12. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, pp. 116-17.

13. *J.N.S.I.*, II, p. 83-94.

14. Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue*, pl. xxx.

15. *Ibid.*, 20, 34 etc.

16. *Ibid.*, p. cxc.

17. *Ibid.*,

18. *J.N.S.I.* II, p. 86.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

I am unable to make out any such distinction among the present coins. At the same time, I am a little hesitant to accept them as exclusively the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi, though there is every possibility of these coins being his. I prefer to attribute only those coins (52 in number) which have the initial portion of the legend clear with the word *siri* or at least *ri* followed by the word *Sātakarṇi* or a part of it.

There is a coin in the lot with the legend *Saka Sāta*. The letter read as *ka* is not very clear, so its reading as *ra* is also possible, though the vertical stroke of the letter *ka* should leave no room for doubt.²⁰ Mirashi has identified four coins in Tarhala hoard with the legend *Saka* followed by *Sa(takarṇi)* and he has attributed them to a ruler named Siri Saka Sātakarṇi, who is neither known in the *Purāṇas* nor in any other source.²¹ The coins illustrated by him however, do suggest the existence of the letter *ka* in between two *sa*,²² leaving little doubt regarding the fact that these coins were issued by a ruler named *Saka Sātakarṇi*.

There are fifty-three coins with the legend *Siri Puḷumāvisa* or part thereof. We have no less than three or four *Puḷumāvis* in the Puranic lists of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Here, in this lot itself, we have three coins bearing the legend *Siva Siri Puḷumāvi*. The Tarhala hoard also had thirty-two coins of *Siva Siri Puḷumāvi*²³ whose coins are also known in the Chanda hoard.²⁴ So it is not unlikely that some of the present coins with the legend *Siri Puḷumāvi* might belong to him, the initial portion being out of flan. A large number of them might also belong to Vāsishṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi, who is a well known figure of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Siva Siri Puḷumāvi is not represented in Rapson's Catalogue. But the British Museum has two lead coins of which the legend reads *thīputasa Siva Siri*.²⁵ These coins have been attributed by Rapson to Vāsishṭhīputra *Siva Siri Sātakarṇi*. He has identified this ruler with the name *Śiva Śrī* in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Sātakarṇi Siva Siri* in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* as the 25th ruler.²⁶ But in all probability the name given in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is a confused jumbling of two names as the name *Sātakarṇi Śiva Śrī* is quite unusual. Pargiter has shown that the *Matsya Purāṇa* and one of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* clearly give the name *Śiva Śrī*

20. The coin was shown to Dr. M. Rama Rao, when he visited Bombay in January 1958; he agrees with me.

21. *J.N.S.I.* II, p. 92.

22. *Ibid.*, pl. VII, 29-30.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

24. *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1893, p. 117; *N.S.* XLV, p. 61.

25. *B.M.C.*, p. 29.

26. *Ibid.*, intro., p. xl.

Pulomā with the regnal period of seven years. So, these copper coins undoubtedly belong to him and the lead coins in the British Museum should also be attributed to him rather than to Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi.²⁷

There are also four coins in the lot with the legend *Siri Khaḍa Sātakarṇi* or a part thereof. The Tarhala hoard had twenty-three coins with similar legend.²⁸ These coins can well be attributed to Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi, who is mentioned in all the *Purāṇas*. The Chanda hoard included a coin on which Hoernle had doubtfully read *Ya(ga)sa sāta*,²⁹ which, in the light of these coins may well be assumed as belonging to this very ruler. The Indian Museum also has a coin on which Smith read *Siri Chaḍa Sāta*, but the reading *Khaḍa* is clear in the plate.³⁰ As such the Chanda hoard also included coins of this ruler.

There are three coins with the legend *Ruda Sātakarṇi*. Any ruler named Ruda or Rudra is conspicuously absent from the *Purāṇas*, but a ruler named Rūdra Sātakarṇi is known from his lead coins in the British Museum from the Pearse Collection.³¹ There is another coin found from Krishna district, on which Rapson has read *(Ru)da Sātaka*...³² Mirashi thinks that these coins belong to Khada (Skanda) rather than to Ruda (Rudra),³³ but there is nothing to warrant any such suggestion. Martin has a lead coin, where the reading is quite clear as *putasa Rudra Sā*.³⁴

Thirty-eight coins of the lot have the legend *Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi* or a part thereof. They need no comment as the issuer of these coins is well known.

Lastly, the lot includes three coins, which have the legends *Siri Sātasa*. This legend was also read by Kundangar.³⁵ No ruler named Siri Sāta is known to any *Purāva*, but he is well known from coins as well as inscriptions. A few coins having the name Siri Sāta are in the British Museum. They have been assigned to Siri Sātakarṇi of the Naneghat inscription by Rapson.³⁶ Some other coins are also known with this legend, and they are attributed either to Sātakarṇi or to Sātavāhana and Sāta is suggested to be

27. A lead coin of this type in the M. F. C. Martin Collection has the clear legend ...*pa...Śiva Siri Pulumavi(sa)*. See N.S. XLV, p. 61.

28. J.N.S.I. II, p. 89.

29. Proc. A.S.B. 1893, p. 117.

30. I.M.C., p. 213; Pl. XXIII, 24.

31. B.M.C., p. 46.

32. Ibid.

33. J.N.S.I. II, p. 89.

34. N.S. XLV, p. 61.

35. Ibid., XLII, p. 31.

36. B.M.C., p. 1.

a contraction of these names.³⁷ But as I have shown elsewhere there is no reason to have any such contraction on these coins, the name *Sāta* or *Sāti* being complete in itself and no less than three persons of this name with different mytronymics may be identified from different sources viz. Māḍhariputra Siri Sāta in the Kanheri inscription, Siri Sāta, the son of Nayanikā in Neneghat inscription and Sāliputra Siri Sāta on a coin in the collection of Sri Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad.³⁸ It is nevertheless difficult to suggest the ruler to whom these coins may be attributed.

Lead coins

Among the lead coins is a single piece of the Sātavāhana dynasty having the legend *Siri Pulumāvisa*. The motifs on both the sides of the coin are similar to those of the copper ones; both of them have an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. This lead coin, however, differs a little on the obverse. Here the elephant is facing to the left, instead of the right as on copper coins and its trunk is lowered, while it is raised on the copper ones. Besides, here we have the legend *Pulumāvisa* instead of *Puḷumāvisa* i.e. *la* is used on the lead coin, instead of *ḷa* found on copper ones. Whether this distinction has any significance cannot be determined at the moment. In absence of the mytronymic, it cannot be attributed to any particular Puḷumāvi, but it is not unlikely that it belonged to Vāsishṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi.

The copper and the lead coins of the Kura kings have similar motifs, viz bow and arrow and with names encircling on the obverse and hill-tree on the reverse. Here the attributable copper coins are only of Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura, while the lead coins of all the three rulers are known—Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷvāyakura, Māḍhariputra Sivalakura and Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura. Since Rama Rao has discussed these coins in detail, nothing further need be said here.

Conclusions

The find of the two types of coins in the hoards from Brahmapurī, with different devices and in association with each other makes it quite clear that the Sātavāhana rulers and the rulers with Kura-ending names were not identical, as was so far believed by many scholars. It lends support to the view that the two were quite distinct dynasties, and that the Kuras were not the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas either, for no suzerain king is known to have allowed his feudatories to issue coins in their own name in the history of India. We definitely know, for example, that under the

37. *J.N.S.I.* VII, p. 3; IV, 28; XIII, 37; *Indian Historical Quarterly* XXVII, p. 210 f.; XXX, p. 290.

38. *J.N.S.I.* XV, 180-82; XVI, pp. 88-89; *I.H.Q.* XXXII, pp. 425-30.

Guptas no feudatory had ever issued coins. Under the Mughals also, we do not know of any such practice. Even in the declining period of the Mughal glory, no chief dared to issue coins in his own name. They issued them in the name of the emperor of Delhi and could only have some mark of their own in a corner of the coin.

The distinction between the Sātavāhanas and Kuras is now definitely borne out by the excavation at Brahmapurī, conducted by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona during 1945-46. Kura coins were found exclusively in the early strata VI to IX while the Sātavāhana coins are confined to the later strata IV and also VI.³⁹ This would definitely indicate that the two sets of coins were neither issued by one and the same set of rulers nor did they belong to contemporary dynasties, but suggest rather that the Kuras preceded the Sātavāhanas.

If this is so, it would be interesting to speculate as to which of the Sātavāhana rulers deprived the Kuras of their domain. We know eight Sātavāhana rulers from the coins of the lot described above. The chronology of five of them is fixed from the Purāṇas as follows:

1. Siri Sātakarṇi (Gautamīputra)	Pargiter's List No.	22
2. Siri Puṣumāvi	"	24
3. Siva Siri Puṣumāvi	"	25
4. Siri Skanda Sātakarṇi	"	26
5. Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi	"	27

The remaining three rulers, Siri Saka Sātakarṇi, Rūdra Sātakarṇi, and Siri Sāta, whose coins have been found in the above lot, can in no case be placed in between any of the above rulers, as that would be tampering with the Purāṇic sequence. They may be placed either before Siri Sātakarṇi or after Sri Yajña Sātakarṇi. But in the excavations at Brahmapurī only the coins of Gautamīputra Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Puṣumāvi have been found in the layers later than those in which the Kura coins, or Kura coins in association

39. Unfortunately, these facts have not attracted the attention of scholars, as the numismatic material found in the excavation is not properly analysed in the report published by the Institute, where it has just been stated that "Layers V-X have each yielded several copper and lead coins of Imperial Sātavāhana dynasty and their feudatories, whose period is generally believed to be 200 B.C.—A.D. 200 from the paleography of the legends on them. The method of the construction of the buildings, pottery and terracotta figurines, a clay seal, a Roman clay bullae and several other antiquities, justify the general dating of these layers, as coeval with the Sātavāhana period." [Sankalia and Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmapurī (Kolhapur)*, 1945-46, pp. 35-36]. I had recently an occasion to examine the entire numismatic material of the excavation personally and a separate paper on the subject will be published shortly.

with Sātavāhana coins have been found. On the basis of this evidence, none of the three rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty, who are not in the Purāṇic list can be placed earlier than Siri Sātakarṇi in this region. Siri Sātakarṇi or Siri Puḷumāvi thus could be the only Sātavāhanas, who deprived the Kura ruler Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura, the last of the dynasty, of his kingdom.

Siri Saka Sātakarṇi, Rūdra Sātakarṇi and Siri Sāta would also thus appear to follow Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi. The coins of Siri Saka Sātakarṇi are also known from the Tarhala hoard, which also includes the coins of Siri Vijaya Sātakarṇi, twenty-eighth in Pargiter's list along with the coins of two other rulers Kumba Sātakarṇi and Karṇa Sātakarṇi who are conspicuously absent from the present lot.

This distinction between the two sources of the Sātavāhana coins, suggests a bifurcation of the ruling dynasty after Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi or in all likelihood after Siri Saka Sātakarṇi, whose coins are known at both the places. He probably ruled the entire Sātavāhana territory and was the last to enjoy the imperial authority. After him, it seems that the dynasty split into two branches, one ruling in the Chanda-Tarhala region from the original capital of the dynasty and the other confined to Mahārāshṭra and the southern part of the kingdom. Vijaya, Kumbha and Karṇa Sātakarṇis, whose coins are known from Tarhala hoard are absent from Brahmapuri, were members of the Chanda-Tarhala branch and Rūdra, Sāta etc. whose coins are known from Brahmapuri but are absent from the Chanda-Tarhala hoard, were members of the Mahārāshṭra branch. Lead coins of Rūdra are well known from Krishna district and a few coins of Siri Sāta of quite different type are known from Hyderabad. These lend support to the above suggestion.

Besides these historical inferences, the coins also shed light on the practice regarding fractions of coins. No Kura coins have been found of smaller denomination in either of the two hoards of A.D. 1873 or A.D. 1877 from Brahmapuri, but in the former, we have a number of fractions of Kura coins cut into half, one-thirds and quarters (plate 26, Nos. 14-17). They were in all probability used for a fraction of the unit coins. This type of dichotomy seems to have been practiced from earlier times. Pieces of silver punch-marked coins, cut into halves are found in many hoards, discovered in different part of the country.⁴⁰

40. These hoards are still unpublished but the half-pieces in the Bahal hoard are noticed in *J.N.S.I.* VIII, p. 63.

APPENDIX

Description of the coins of the Brahmapuri finds illustrated on
Pls. 25 and 26.

A. COPPER : SATAVAHANA

KING	SIZE (in ins.)	WEIGHT (in grs.)	DESCRIPTION (with legend)
PLATE 25			
1. Sātakarni	.5	38.75	(VIII) (Sa)ṭakaṇṣa
2. "	.8	50.7	(IX) Satakan(i)
3. "	.75	34.0	(IX) taṇṣa
4. "	.8x.9	45.0	(X) Satakan(i)
5. Śrī Sātakarni	.7	36.25	(VIII) ri Sātaka(ṇṣ)
6. "	.82	35.5	(VIII) S(i)r(i) Satakana
7. "	.75	44.5	(VIII) ṇa s(i)ri Sataka
8. "	.75x.85	42.0	(VIII) (Sa)ri Sātakani
9. "	.5	44.25	(VII) Sara Sātakani
10. "	.75	31.0	(VII) ṇa siri Sātaka
11. "	.72	45.0	(VII) raṇa Sara Saka (truncated) ; Reverse—Ujjain symbol has a crescent
12. "	.82	49.0	(VII) Sari Satakaṇa; Reverse— Ujjain symbol has a crescent.
13. "	.8	42.75	(IX) (Sa) ri Sātaka(ṇa).
14. Saka Sātakarni	.78	31 "	(IX) Sa(ka) Sataka, not very clear in the plate
15. Śrī Pulumāvi	.65x.85	43.0	(VII) ṇa Sari pulumāv(i)
16. "	.5	49.5	(VIII) Siri Pulumāvi; Reverse—Ujjain symbol has a crescent.
17. "	.5	38.75	(VIII) Sari Pulumav(i)
18. "	.8x.75	44.75	(VIII) Sari Pulumava
19. "	.7	44.25	(IX) Sara Pulumava
20. "	.67	28.75	(VI) ṇa Siri Pulumava (very clear on the coin.)
21. Śrī Yajña Sātakarni	.5	58.25	(VIII) ra Yajña Sātaku
22. "	.75x.65	40.25	(IX) Yajña Sataka
23. "	.7	44.25	(IX) Yajña Sātaka Reverse—Ujjain symbol has a crescent.

Appendix—contd.

KING	SIZE (in ins.)	WEIGHT (in grs.)	DESCRIPTION (with legend)
PLATE 25			
24. Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi	.75	58.75	(IX) (ra) Yajña Sātaka
25. "	.7x.85	51.5	(IX) (jña) Satakarṇi
PLATE 26			
1. Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi	.75x.68	42.75	(IX) (sa)ra Ya Reverse Ujjain symbol has a crescent.
2. "	.6x.7	27.25	(IX) Sara Yajña (Sa)
3. "	.7	32.25	(IX) jña Sātaka
4. Śrī Skanda Sātakarṇi.	.8	31.75	(VIII) Śrī Khaḍa Sātaka
5. "	.7	35.25	(VIII) ra Khaḍa Sātaka
6. Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi	.72	37.75	(VIII) Sava siri puluma
7. "	.7	35.5	(VIII) va Sara puluma
8. "	.75x.6	34.75	(IX) Sava Sara pulu
B. COPPER : KURA			
9. Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura	.7	32.25	Obv. Bow and arrow; le- gend (begins just to the right of arrow) (Ra)jño G(o) tam(i) putasa Vilivāyaka- rasa. Rev. Wavy line encased in a rectangle; over it ten-arch- ed hill surmounted by a tree; swastika to left of the second and third row of the tiers, triangle standard to right.
10. "	.8	39.25	Obv. Rajño Go...puta... Kurasa Rev. As in No. 9
11. "	.65	47.25	Obv. Rajño G(o)tamī putasa Vilivāyakurasa (truncated). Rev. Only lower part of the hill.
12. "	.7	42.75	Obv. Rajño Gotamīputasa... kurasa Rev. Only lower part of the hill.
C. LEAD : SĀTAVĀHANA			
13. Pulumāvi	1.1x1.0	113.75	Obv. Elephant to right (III) Sara Pulama

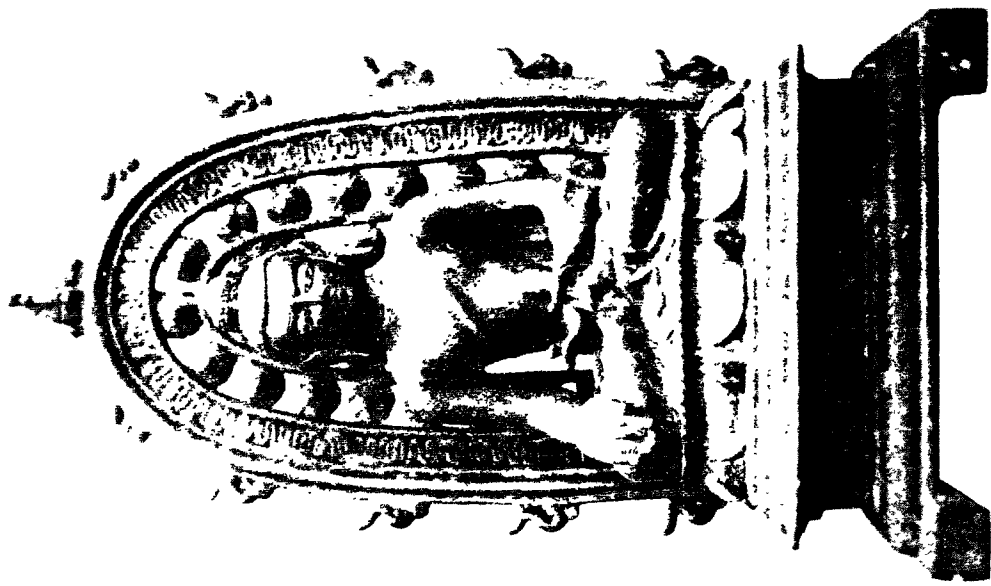
MISCELLANEA

Of recent years a number of commemoration volumes have been published, chiefly in the various Indian languages. Most of them consist mainly of vague panegyrics, and are sprinkled sometimes with articles of doubtful value. The *Āchārya Śrī Vijayavallabha-sūri Smārak Granth* (Publishers: Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. 1956. 702 pp. and numerous colour and half-tone plates. Price Rs. 17 50 nP) is a striking departure and contains much interesting material on Jaina philosophy, literature, art and culture in addition to some well written articles on the life and works of the distinguished Jaina scholar commemorated. The contributions are in three languages, Gujarati, Hindi and English. Amongst those in Gujarati attention is drawn to a scholarly contribution on Prathamānuyoga Śāstra and its author Ārya Kālaka by Muni Punyavijaya. A. V. Pandya has an interesting note on a silver coin of Jayasinha Siddharāja, R. N. Mehta writes on some interesting sculptures from Vadnagar while Sarabhai Nawab contributes an article on the gold-lettered Kalpasutra dated A.D. 1459 with forty-four illustrations in a Jaina library at Baroda. The plates accompanying this article however, are inexplicably and unfortunately in three colours, red, black and gold, so that it is difficult to form an idea about the quality of the Ms. This is not the case with the excellent colour reproductions accompanying an article by Muni Punyavijaya on a splendid illustrated Ms. of Supāsanāhachariyam painted at Devakulavāṭaka (modern Delwara, Mewar, Rajasthan) in A.D. 1422-23. Of much interest is a lengthy article by U. P. Shah on Kālākāchārya in which important light is thrown on his sojourn to Suvarṇabhūmi. The English section also contains much valuable material. Klaus Bruhn has carried out a detailed statistical analysis of the two lower reliefs in the Parsvanatha temple at Khajuraho and comes to the somewhat obvious conclusion that the sculptures there are not Brahmanical but influenced by Brahmanical iconography. Amongst other articles of importance may be mentioned a discussion of the Dhūrtākhyāna in the Nīśīthachūrṇi by A. N. Upadhye, a note on some aspects of Jaina monastic jurisprudence by S. B. Deo, and some iconographic data on the Jayā group of goddesses and an image of Mallinātha by U. P. Shah.

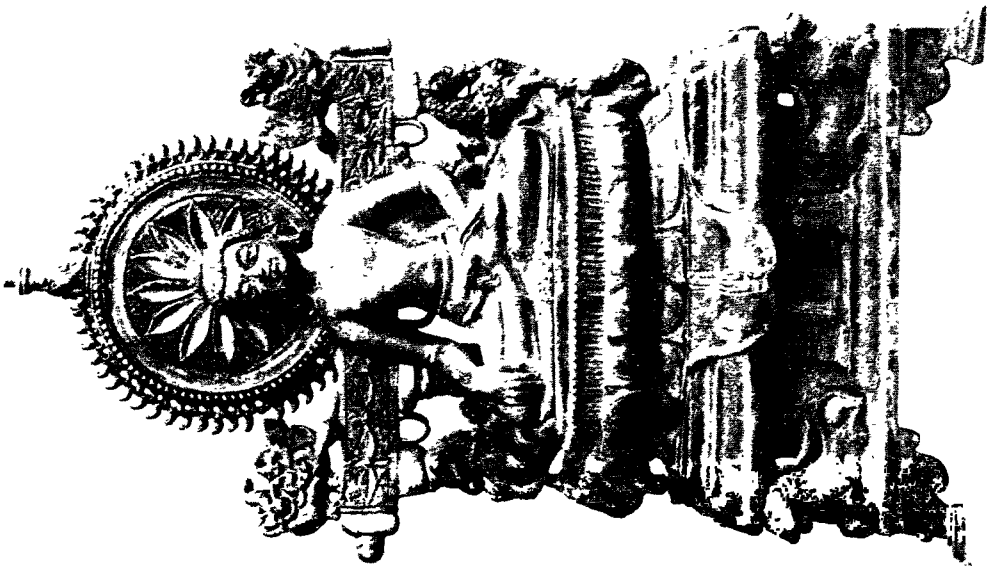
The standard of printing is excellent, though one fails to understand why numerous blocks have been printed in red instead of the conventional and much more successful black and white.



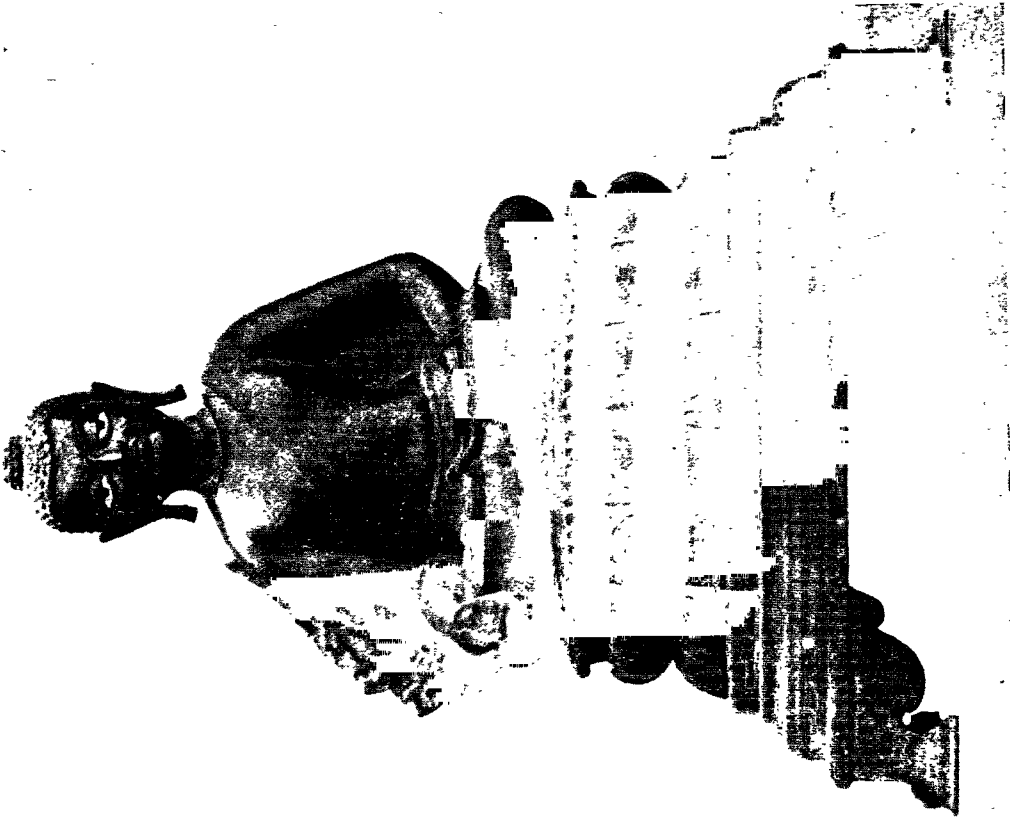
1a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, Sirpur, c. A.D. 700-750.
Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh



1b Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, Sirpur, c. 8th cent
AD, Raipur Museum



2a Buddha on simhāsana in bhūmiśparśa mudrā made by Dronāditya. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum



2b Buddha in bhūmiśparśa mudrā. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum

3a Avalokiteśvara image made by Kumāradeva. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum

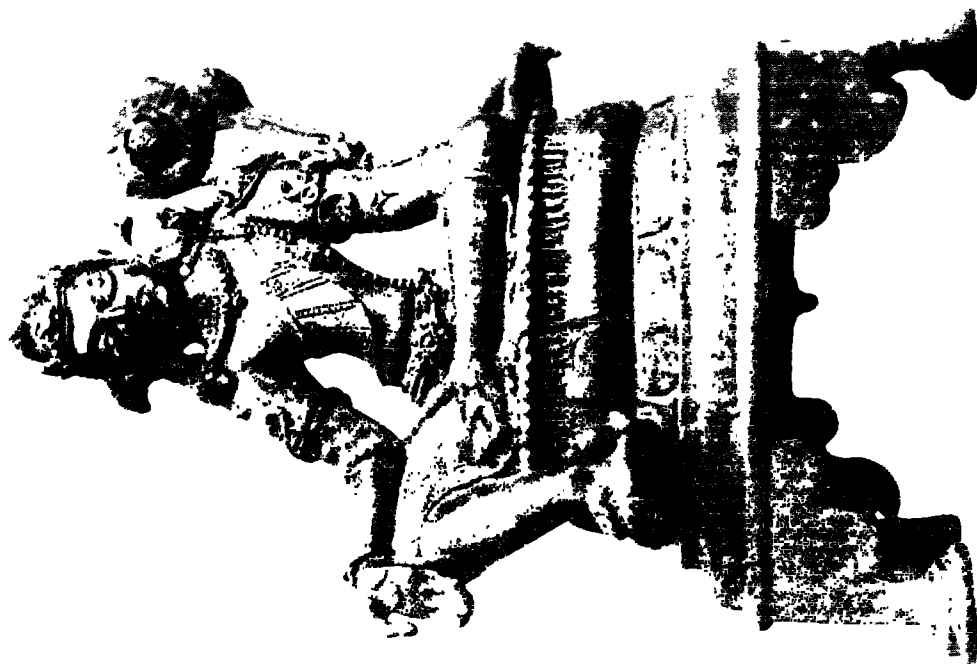


3b Avalokiteśvara image without pedestal. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum



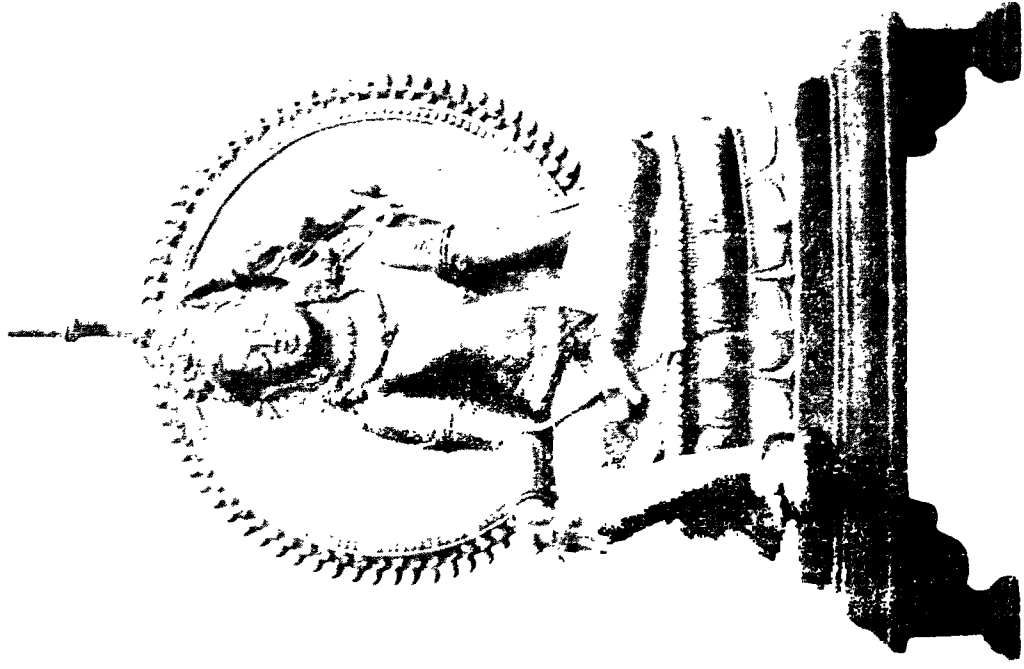


4a Avalokiteśvara made by Dronāditya. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum

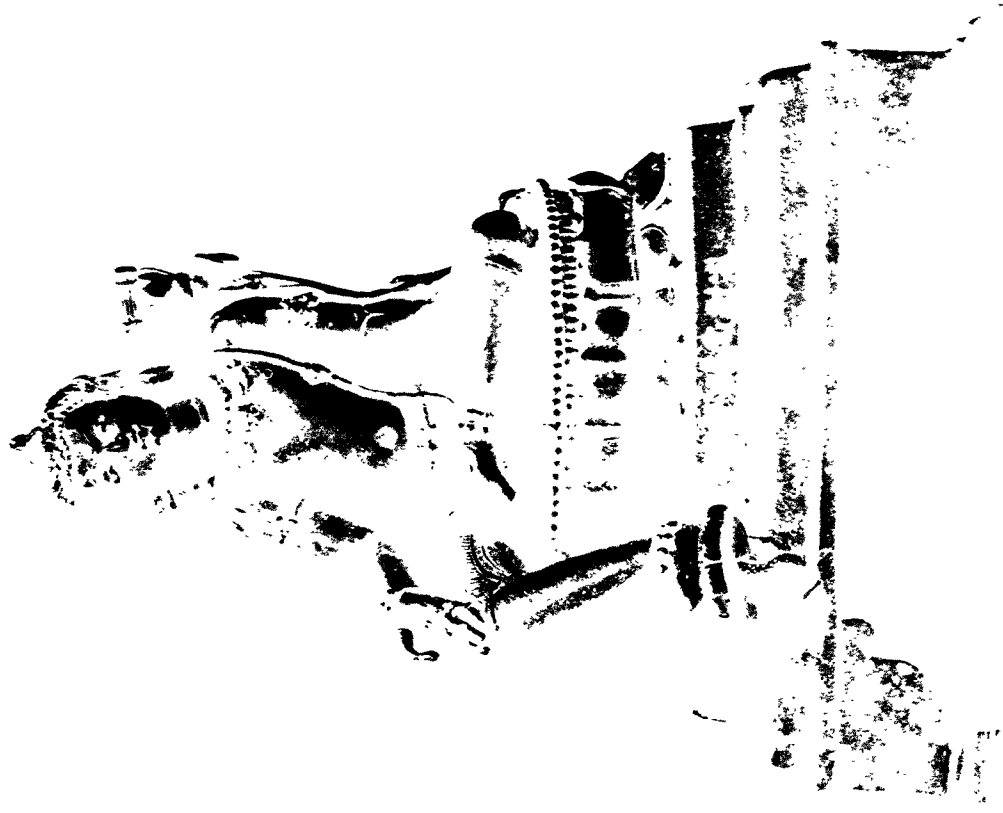


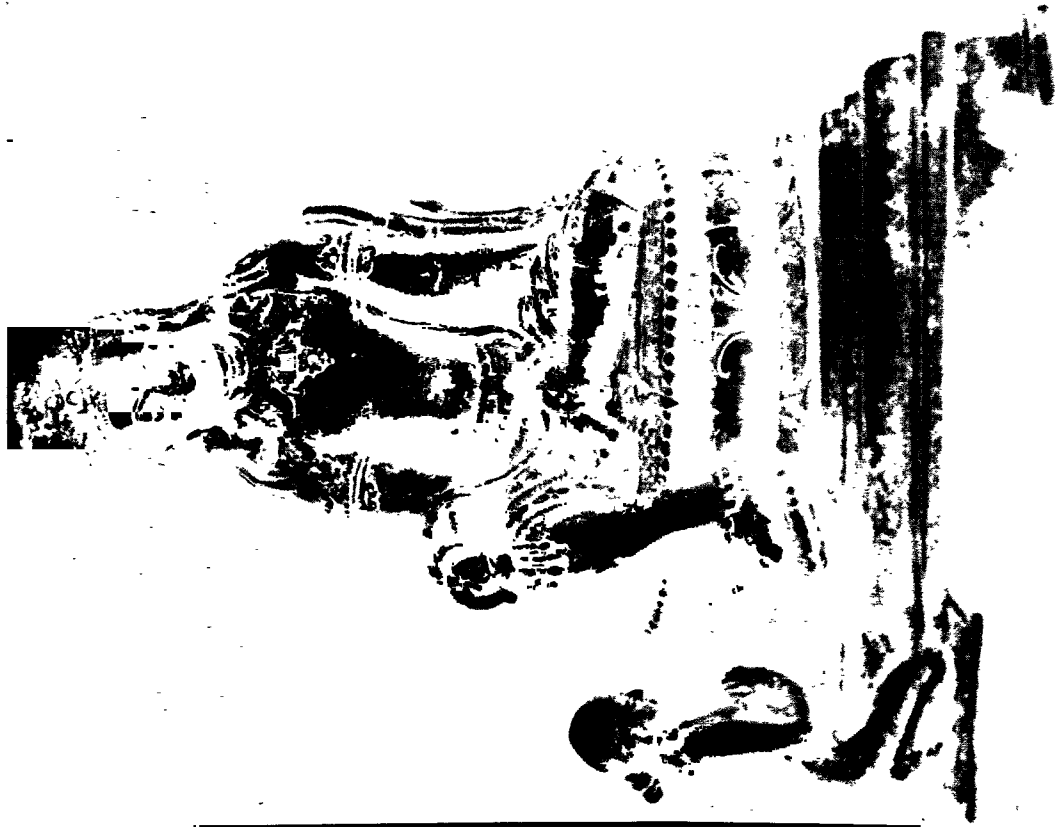
4b Avalokiteśvara Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum

5a Image of Vajrapāṇi by Dronāditya Sirpur, c 8th cent AD Raipur Museum

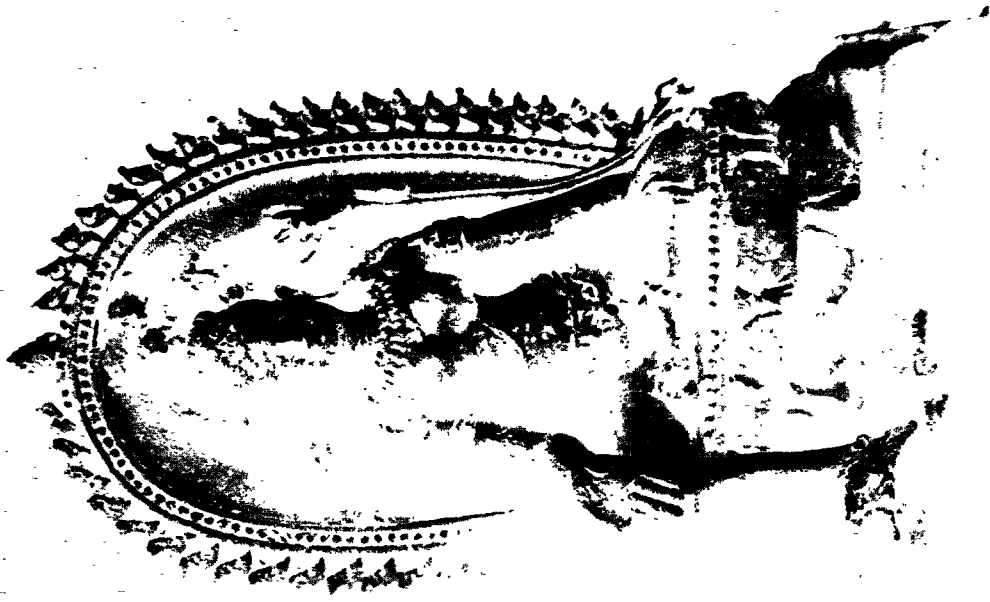


5b Mañjuśrī made by Dronāditya Sirpur, c 8th cent AD, Raipur Museum



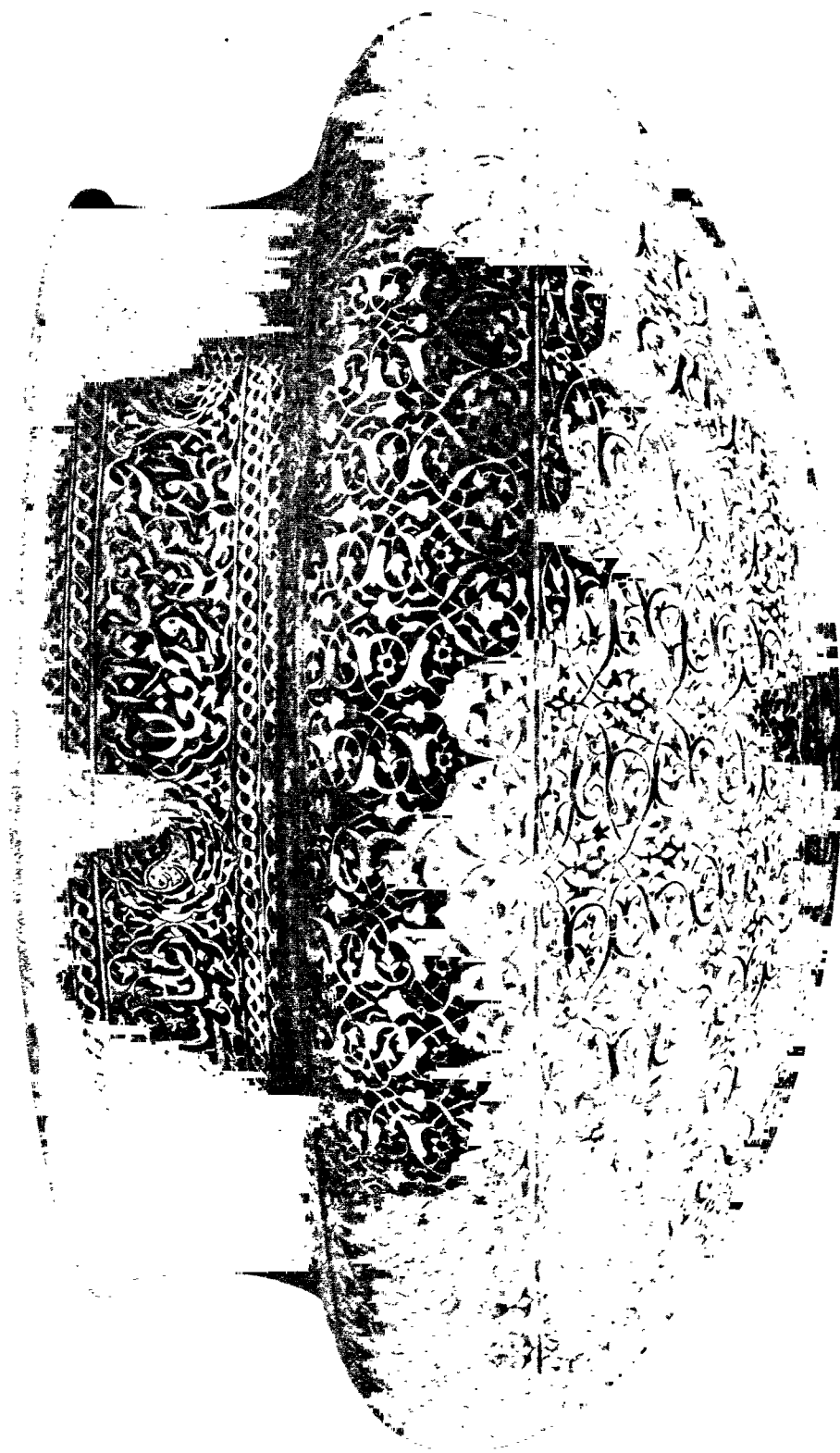


6a Muñjuśrī with kneeling devotee. Sirpur, c. 8th cent AD. Raipur Museum



6b Tārā. Sirpur, c. 10th-11th cent AD. Raipur Museum

7 Large copper cooking pot (ht. 8", diameter of mouth 12"). Kashmir, dated A.D. 1698. No 33.825

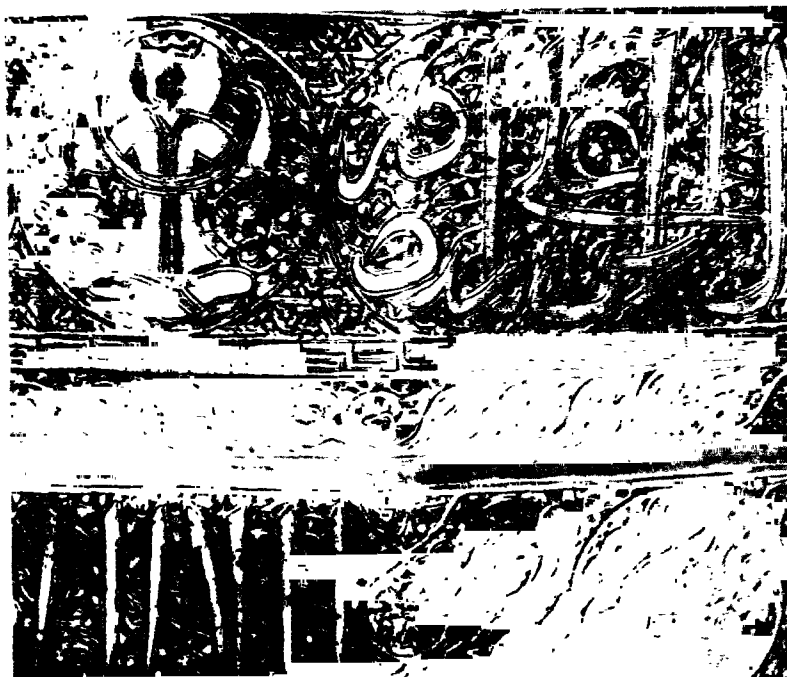


8a Brass turban casket
(ht. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ": width at base
11"). Persia, 14th cent
AD. No 28.5592



9a Brass candlestick
(ht. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ": width at base
7"). Persia, late 16th
cent AD. No 33 832

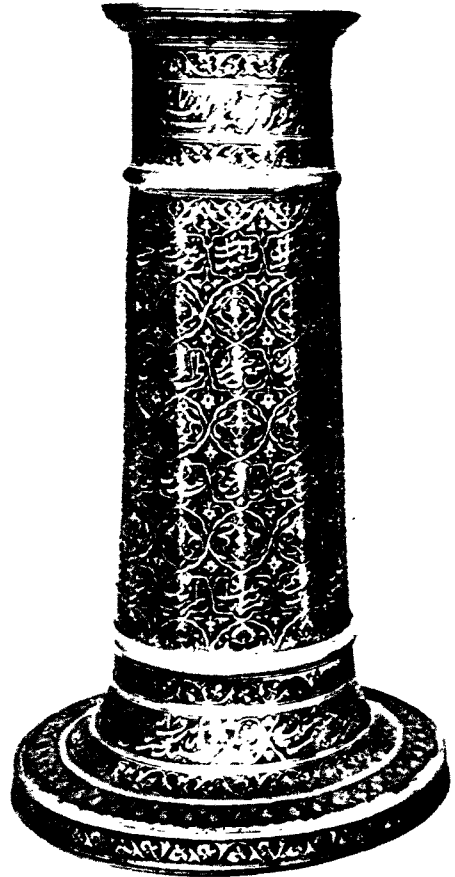
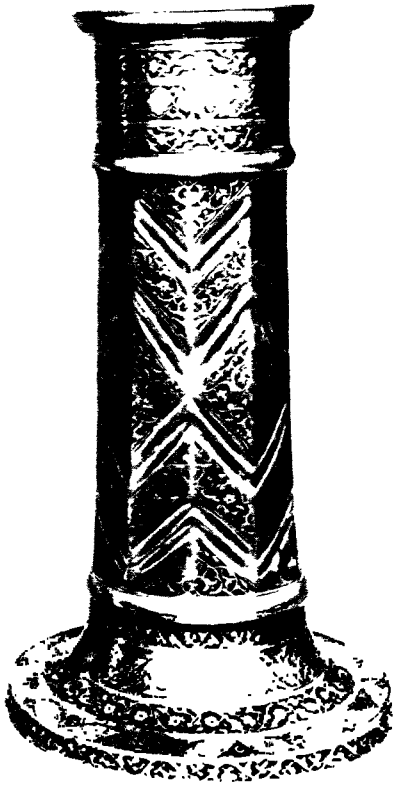
9b Brass candlestick
(ht. 14": width at base
7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "). Persia, late 17th
cent AD. No 33 831



8b Detail from 8a

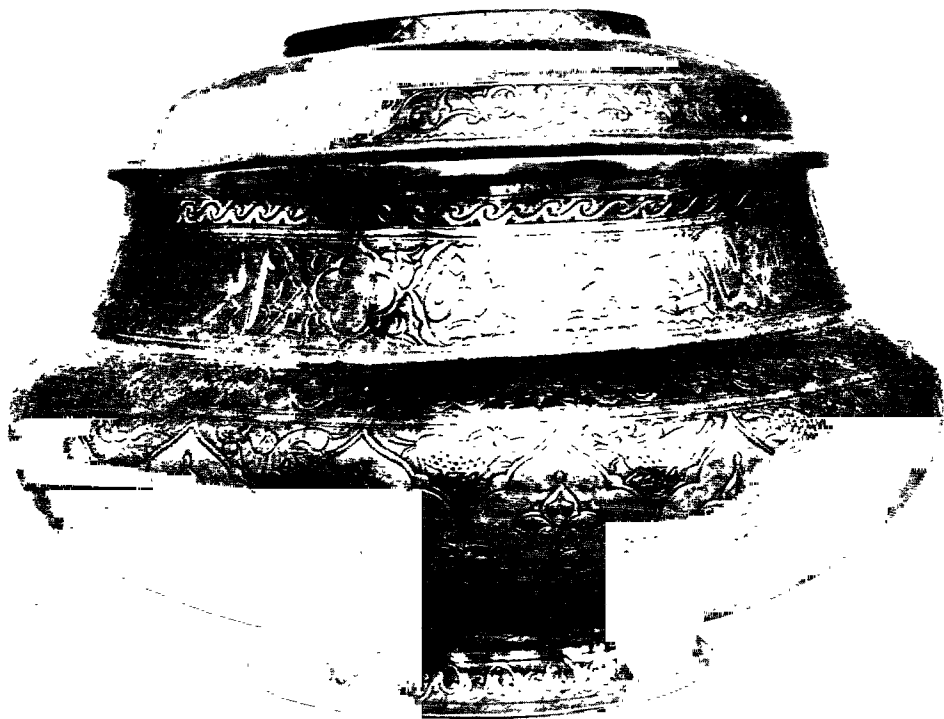
9c Cooper cooking pot
(ht. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": diameter of
mouth 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ") Kashmir,
dated A.D. 1641
No 28 6205

9a



9c





10a Brass lidded pot (ht. $5\frac{1}{2}$ " : diameter of mouth $5\frac{3}{4}$ "). Kashmir, dated A.D. 1565
No 33.829

10b Bowl with high lip (ht. 7" : diameter of mouth $7\frac{3}{4}$ "). Delhi, 18th cent AD.
No 33.839

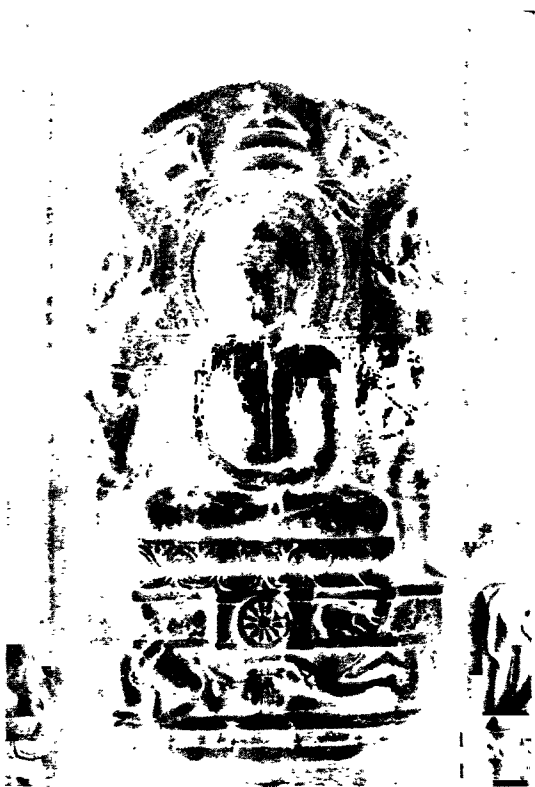




11a Jinas with parents. Details from a ceiling slab, Neminatha temple, Kumbharia, c. 12th cent AD.

11b Jina image with mother on pedestal, c. 9th-10th cent AD. From Vaibhara Hill, Rajgir

11c Parents of a Jina from Sahet-Mahet, Medieval period. Now in State Museum, Lucknow



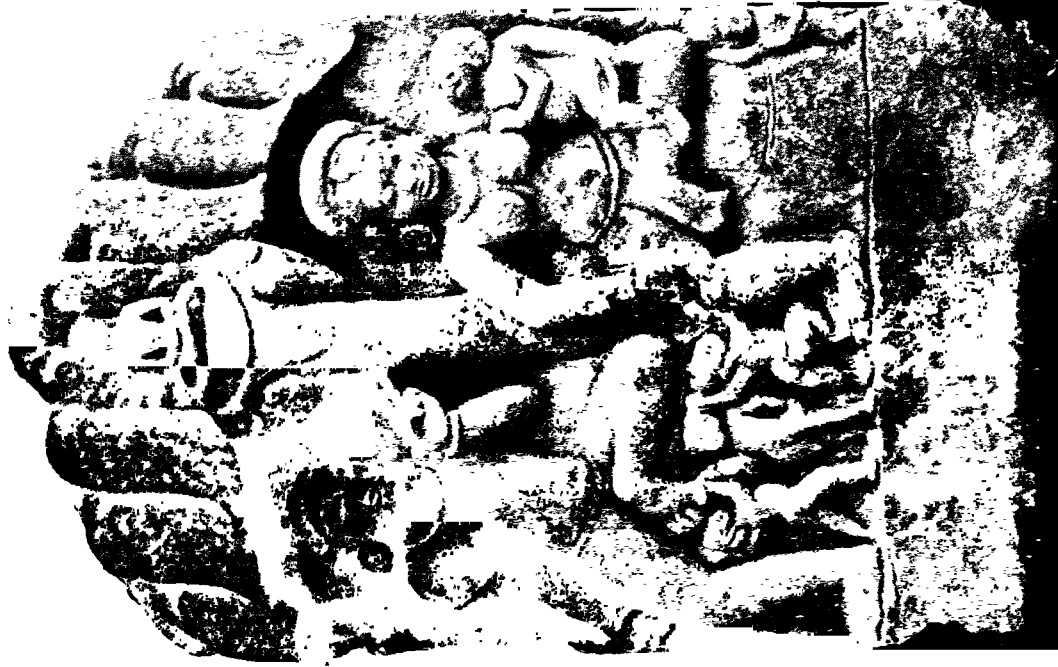


12a Parents of a Jina. Medieval period. Khajuraho Museum, Khajuraho



12b Parents of a Jina. Medieval period. Archaeological Museum, Mathura

13a Parents of a Jina. Medieval period. Deogarh Fort, U.P.

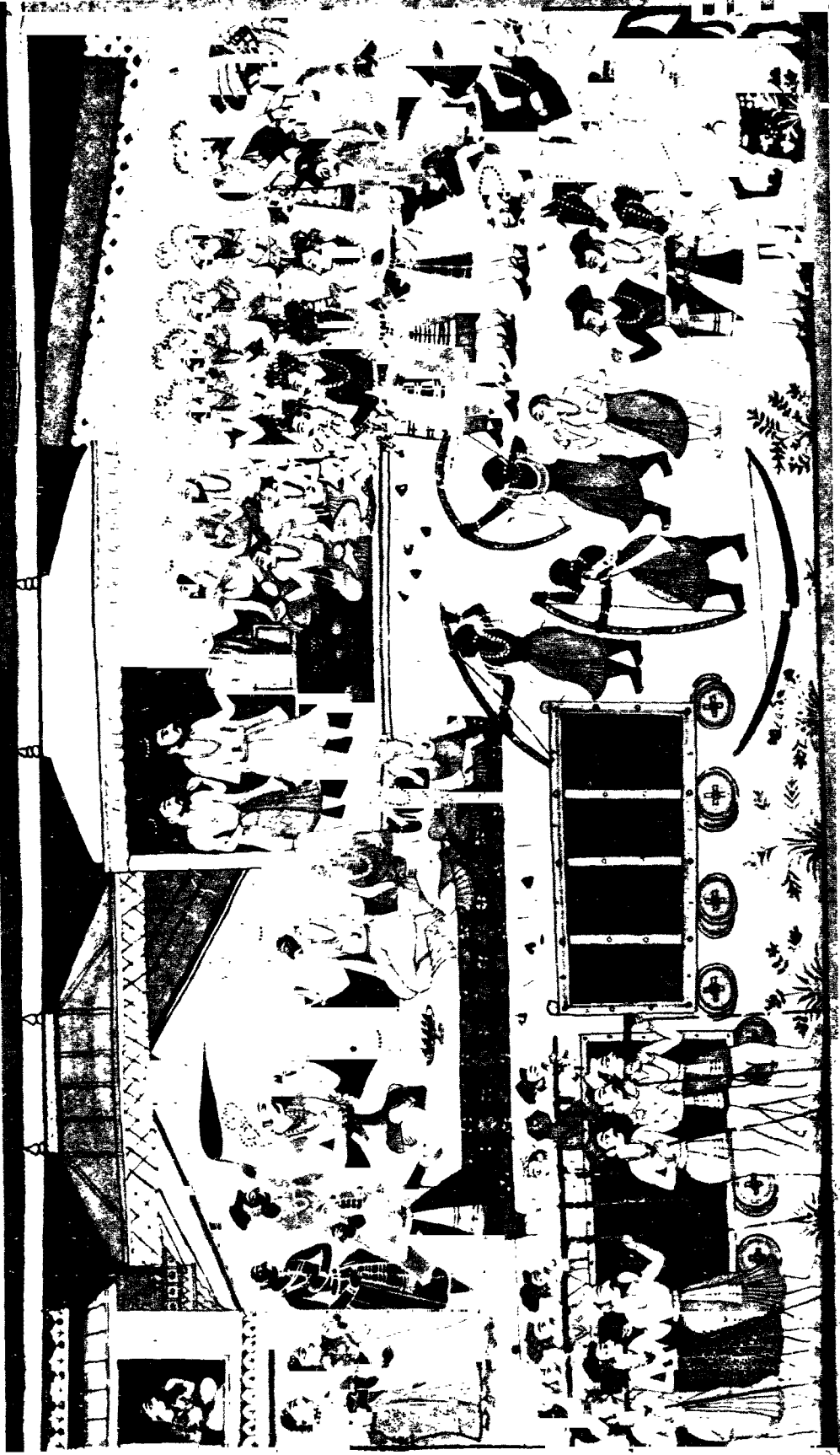


13b Parents of a Jina. Medieval period. Khajuraho Museum, Khajuraho









16 Breaking of the bow (15" x 9") Fol. 66 from a Rāmāyaṇa Ms dated 1649 AD. No 54.1/16



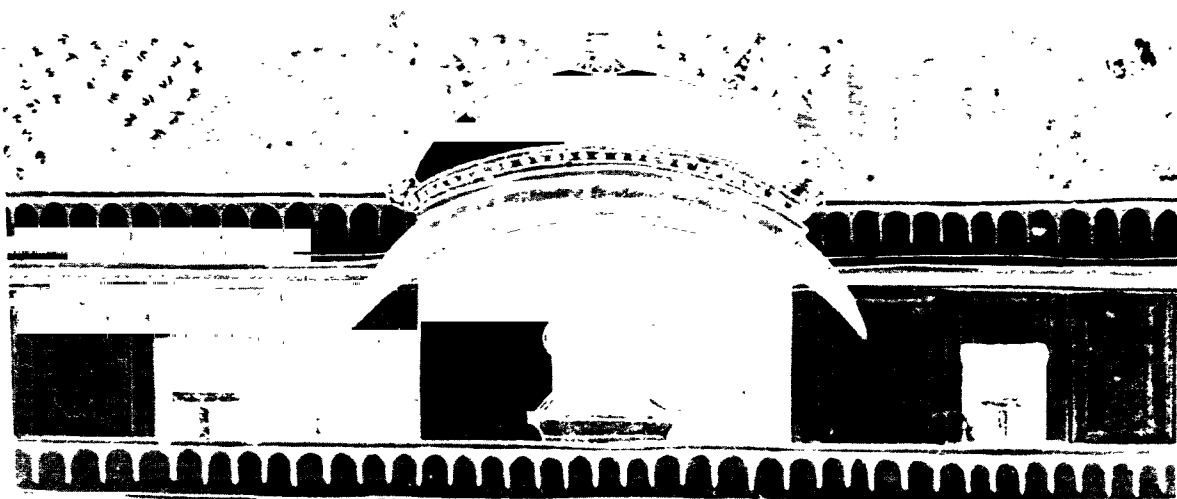


18 Lovers standing on a chauki in the garden (11½" x 10¼"). Painted by Manohar. Bundi, dated 1689 A.D.
No 55.89

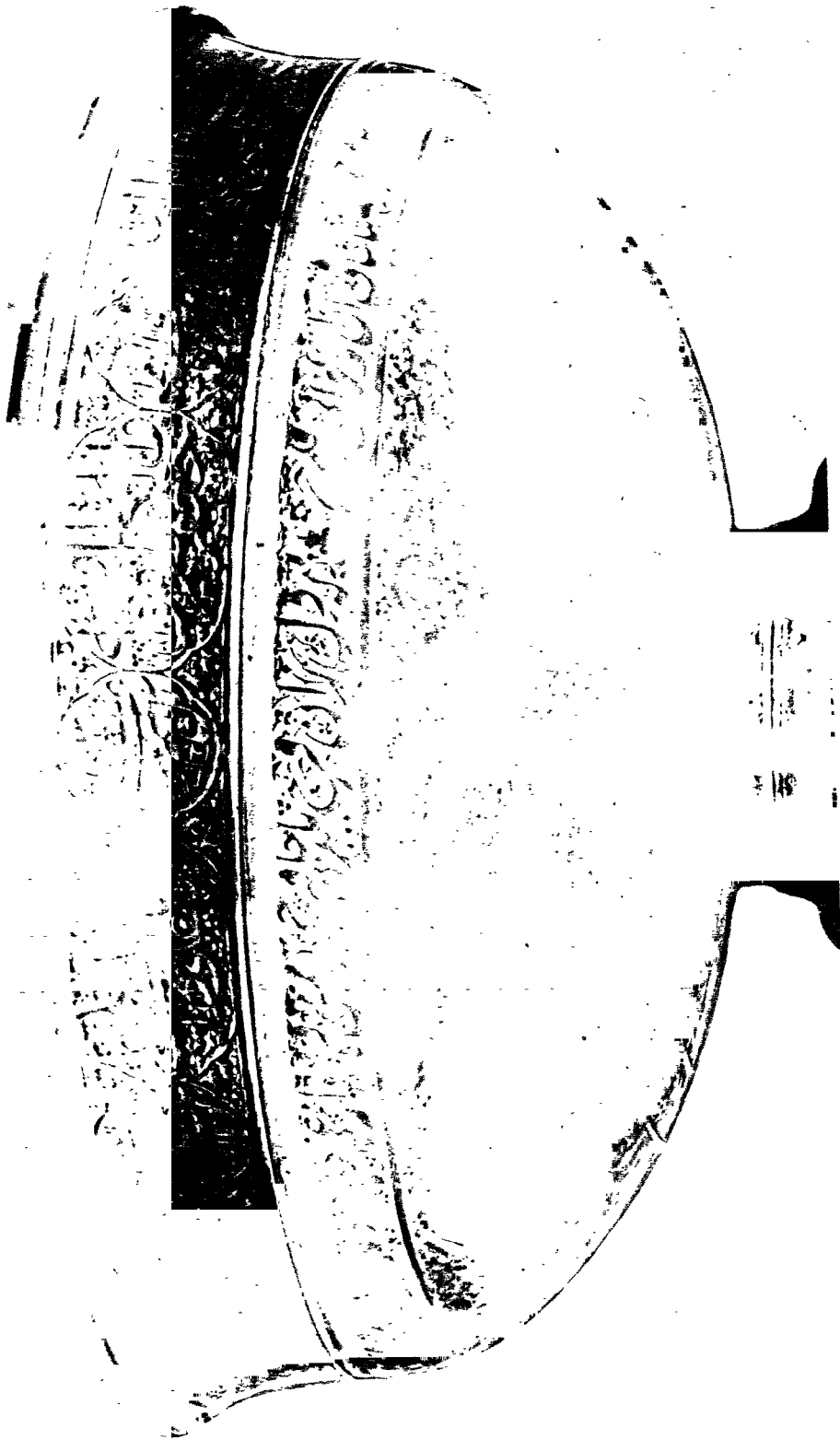


19 Lady and attendant in garden (12" x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "). Bundi, late 17th cent AD. No 55.91





21 Prince and lady with attendants in a pavilion. Bundi, late 17th cent AD. Collection of Sri C. D. Gujarati, Bombay



22 Copper bowl decorated with hunting pattern. Mughal, dated 1583 A.D. No 56.61



23a & b Details of
bowl illustrated on
p. 22.



24a Detail of Mughal copper bowl dated 1583 A.D.

24b Brass talismanic cup. Mughal, early 17th cent AD. No 22.2235





1



2



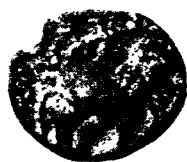
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